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THE CHURCHES OF SYRIAN ANTIOCH (300-638 CE)

by

Wendy Mayer & Pauline Allen



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PREFACE

Over the past decade, as Pauline Allen and I have laboured individually and collaboratively on setting carefully in their social context the figures of John Chrysostom (born at Antioch c. 350, presbyter of Antioch 386-97) and Severus of Antioch (patriarch 512-18), this is the kind of book that we had hoped that someone else would provide. Previously, when one sought information about the churches of Antioch prior to the period of Umayyad rule, there existed no single reference to which one could turn. The process of eliciting data instead involved scanning secondary sources as disparate and dated as the pages and appendices of Glanville Downey's *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (1961), Robert Devreesse's *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (1945), Anton Baumstark's two articles on the liturgical calendar at Antioch in the early sixth century,¹ and Walther Eltester's brief literary survey of the situation in the fourth century.² Pierre Maraval's account of holy places and pilgrimage in the East to the Arab conquest proved another frustrating source, in that he lists the martyria and shrines by the names not of the churches but of the saints.³ Reading the reports from the Princeton excavation of Antioch in the 1930s and scanning a wide variety of primary sources in a number of languages was required to complete the picture.

Our aim is thus to fill that gap and finally to assemble in one location reference to all of the extant sources—literary and material—concerning the churches and related Christian worship sites at Antioch. In the process of assembling that material we began to note recurring influences on the building, use and development of these sites, such as factionalism within the Antiochene Christian community, competition between different religious groups, imperial and private patronage, and the impact on Antioch of natural disasters and war. At the same time, Baumstark's discussion of the use of different churches for particular liturgical occasions in the sixth century is now dated, while the comparable study of

1. Anton Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', and idem, 'Der antiochenische Festkalender des frühen sechsten Jahrhunderts', *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 5 (1925), pp. 123-35.

2. Walther Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias im IV. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 36 (1937), pp. 251-86.

3. Pierre Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985), pp. 337-42.

the churches with respect to their stationary use during martyr festivals in the fourth century produced in 2006 on the basis of data in the homilies of John Chrysostom by Emmanuel Soler at times utilizes dated resources and is in any case difficult to obtain.⁴ These factors have prompted us to extend our survey to include analysis of the data from a number of perspectives, both for our own interest and in the hope that this will increase the usefulness of this reference work for other scholars.

Without the generous assistance of Dumbarton Oaks this book would remain little more than a note among many on the lists that Pauline Allen and I have assembled over the years of books and articles to write, dependent on funding and time. The award by Dumbarton Oaks of a fellowship in Byzantine Studies for the academic year 2006/07 enabled me to immerse myself in the rich resources that they hold in their library, photograph and museum collections. The contribution of Alan Walmsley, a specialist in the material culture of Jordan and Syria with a wide knowledge of the region and context, who was a fellow at Dumbarton Oaks at the same time, has been invaluable, as have also the many conversations with the other fellows, who were able to contribute insights from their own disciplines and areas of expertise. Alan Walmsley provided assistance with Arabic sources. Pagona Papadopoulou showed me how to locate and negotiate the standard reference works for late Roman and Byzantine numismatics. Dimitri Korobeinikov kindly helped with Syriac transliteration systems.

I am equally indebted to Arietta Papaconstantinou for alerting me to the debate concerning the Daniel textile. Even though it is now clear that it is irrelevant to the topic of this book, it is nonetheless important to note that its topographical border was once thought to depict churches from Antioch. Her assistance with understanding the milieu in which Coptic hagiography arises has also been invaluable. The assistance of Stuart Kenfield, Curator of the Research Photographs collection at Princeton University, which houses the Antioch Archive, has also been much appreciated. The two days that I was able to spend in November 2006 working my way through the unpublished photographs, loose files, drawings and field notes was an invaluable corrective to the data derived from the published archaeological reports. I am also indebted to Marielle Tetreault, curator of the photographic collection at Dumbarton Oaks, and to a scholar of the liturgical planning of churches, for her assistance in

talking through the possibilities in regard to the liturgical layout and function of the churches of St Babylas, at Machouka, and in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria. David Woods and Rudolf Haensch made available to me articles in advance of publication for which I am deeply grateful. In addition, David alerted me to the existence of the articles by Raimondi and Agosti. I am similarly grateful to Catherine Saliou for alerting me to the article by Triebel. It is doubtful whether I would have come across these otherwise. Gunnar Brands has been generous with his correspondence and conversation about the findings of the as yet unpublished topographic survey of Antioch (2004-2008). Frédéric Alpi kindly made available to me his recently published monograph and an article that I had overlooked. Klaus-Peter Todt generously provided a copy of the paper on mediaeval Antioch that he delivered at the first meeting of the Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum project team in Paris, January 2010, which contained reference to a number of sources concerning the Church of Cassian at that period of which I was unaware. Finally, we owe a major debt to Dinah Joseoef, administrative assistant extraordinaire in the Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane Campus, to Robyn and John Farrell, editors of Australian and NZ Defender Magazine, and to Karen Rasmussen of Archeographics. Dinah assisted with both illustrations and preparation of the manuscript for publication. Robyn and John assisted with the illustrations and photographic images and are responsible for enhancing the detail in the photographs from the 1930s excavation. Karen vastly improved upon my own attempts at maps and illustrations. Without their expertise and professional advice the illustrations would have been fewer in number and of poorer quality.

In June 2008 at the invitation of Tina Shepardson (University of Tennessee, Knoxville), Dayna Kalleres (University of California, San Diego) and I spent seven days exploring the topography of modern Antakya and visiting the few visible remains from the late antique period that survive in the city and immediate region. The hospitality provided by Padre Domenico Bertogli, priest of the Katolik Kilisesi, enriched the experience considerably, as did our conversations with him about Antioch's Christian history. It was he who alerted me to the history of the Habib Neccar mosque and enabled me to draw a possible link to the site of the Church of Cassian.

It is perhaps also helpful for the reader to learn that the bulk of the manuscript was prepared in 2007-2008. It was revised and updated in late 2010 to take into account publications that appeared in the interim and conversations with fellow scholars on the topography of Antioch that

took place in Paris and at Dumbarton Oaks in 2010 (Pour un *Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum*: Les sources de l'histoire du paysage urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte, 20 et 21 septembre 2010, Université de Paris-8; Antioch Study Day, Dumbarton Oaks, Georgetown, 16 April 2010; and Les sources textuelles de l'histoire urbaine d'Antioche sur l'Oronte : pour un *Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum*, Atelier international, jeudi 21 et vendredi 22 janvier 2010, Paris-8/ENS). In dividing up the work for this book, I am largely responsible for the introductory material and the analysis of the sources in Part One and for much of Part Three. Providing the expertise for the period up to the mid-fifth century, particularly Antioch in the second half of the fourth century (the time of Libanius and John Chrysostom) has also been my responsibility. Pauline Allen, whose research on the post-Chalcedonian period, on Evagrius Scholasticus, and on Severus of Antioch is authoritative, has provided the expertise for the period from 451 CE onwards, and is the author of the material in Part Two that concerns that period. She also located and collated many of the sources for Part One. Many of the ideas expressed in this book are the result of mutual conversation. We take shared responsibility for any errors that occur. We list one final caveat. Neither Pauline nor I am an archaeologist or art historian by training. We are both philologists more comfortable working with documentary and literary sources. Producing the synthesis that follows and handling illustrations has at times taken us far out of our comfort zone. We hope that specialists of these other fields will point out our failings with kindness both in their review of this book and when they publish their own material correcting and supplementing our work.

Wendy MAYER
December 2010

INTRODUCTION

SYRIAN ANTIOCH

A question that will inevitably be asked by the reader who picks up this book is: why devote a volume to the churches of Antioch? In addition to the obvious answer that two significant figures in eastern Christianity (John Chrysostom and Severus) preached in them and that no book on the topic currently exists, there are a number of reasons why the subject is of interest to scholars from a range of disciplines. The most compelling reason is the city itself. For centuries prior to Antioch's foundation the Amuq Valley in which it is situated played a significant role in facilitating communication and trade between the upper Tigris and Euphrates River systems and the Mediterranean Sea (fig. 1). Of the two main passes over the Ammanus Mountain range, the one known as 'the Syrian Gates' (Beylan) enables communication between the Amuq region and southern coastal Cilicia via Alexandretta. 'As a northern extension of the African Rift Valley, the Amuq [moreover] provides access between the high alpine highlands of [present-day] eastern Turkey, the Caucasus region, and the inland river valleys of Israel, Jordan and farther to Egypt.'¹ In terms of its situation within north-western Syria, then, Antioch was strategically placed for communication with a wide arc across the eastern Mediterranean. After Seleucia Pieria and Antioch were founded in succession by Seleucus I Nicator between 301 and 299 CE, it is no accident that, with a river that had with assistance been made navigable in between and access to the resources of the upper Amuq Valley, Antioch soon surpassed in size and status Seleucia, its Mediterranean port.² By the second century CE, Seleucia Pieria had achieved the status of one of the two most important ports in the eastern Mediterranean (the other being Alexandria), due to its role as the conduit for the shipment of grain from provinces in Syria and Mesopotamia to Rome and as the Roman naval base in control of maritime trade from the northern Levant to the West.³ As a result of its access to the sea and strategic position along

1. Kutlu Aslıhan Yener, *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects. 1. Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and the Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002* (Oriental Institute Publications 131, Chicago, 2005), p. 2.

2. See Kevin Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East* (London, 2003), pp. 102-106.

3. Pamir, in Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, p. 74.

the land route to Mesopotamia, in the Roman period Antioch itself was periodically utilized as the command centre for military operations on the eastern front.⁴ For extended periods in the fourth century a number of emperors involved in campaigns in the East administered portions of the empire from the city.⁵ As the Roman provincial system developed, Antioch became the capital of a province which fluctuated in size, of which Syria always formed part of the title.⁶ Thus, even when emperors were not resident, the city remained an important administrative centre. By the fourth century along with the *consularis Syriae* the *comes orientis* (supervisor of Oriens, a diocese which incorporated Syria, the Near Eastern provinces, and in the earlier centuries Libya, Egypt, Isauria and Cilicia) and the *magister militum per orientem* (commander of military affairs in the East) were resident and had their bureaux there.⁷ These were all significant contributing factors to Antioch's size and its status as one of the more economically and strategically important cities of the eastern empire. As a large and wealthy city that played a significant role in trade,⁸ imperial and provincial administration, and military operations, in the first three centuries CE its status in the East was exceeded mainly by the

4. During the Parthian campaigns, for example, from 162-66 CE, Lucius Verus shifted base between Antioch and its neighbour Laodicea (Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 47). Although it was frequently the command centre, the army itself was usually stationed elsewhere in Syria. See Maurice Sartre, 'Antioch: capitale royale, ville impériale', in Claude Nicolet, Robert Ilbert and Jean-Charles Depaule (eds.), *Mégapoles méditerranéennes. Géographie urbaine retrospective* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 261; Paris, 2000), pp. 498-99.

5. Diocletian, Galerius, Maximinus and Constantius II all spent time there (Butcher, *Roman Syria*, pp. 61-62). It was under Diocletian that the palace was built on the island in the Orontes.

6. Under Hadrian Syria was a single province extending south towards Bostra; under Septimius Severus Syria was divided into two provinces, the northern titled Syria Coele; under Constantius II Syria Phoenice (the southern province) became Phoenicia and the Justinian Syria retained the same boundaries, but was subdivided into Syria I, II and Theodorias, with capitals at Antioch, Apamea and Laodicea respectively (see Butcher, *Roman Syria*, pp. 82-86, and figs. 22-24).

7. Although by the time of Justinian the territory the *comes orientis* governed had been reduced to Syria I alone (Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 87), Butcher also notes that Libya and Egypt were detached from Oriens under Valens.

8. Along with Beroea, Antioch may also have been integral to the 'land route', which carried goods overland from China, India and Sri Lanka. 'Via Asia, India and camelis among the animals which contribute to the noise and bustle of the agora (the homily has traditionally been assigned to Constantinople, but may also refer to Antioch). Butcher, *Roman Syria*, pp. 184-86, however, argues that the route may have had only minor influence on the Syrian economy, particularly since the route was tightly controlled on both sides.

Egyptian port city of Alexandria;⁹ by the end of the fourth century to this list could be added the new eastern imperial capital Constantinople. Rome was one of the few cities of comparable size and status in the West.

Antioch's significance in the second to sixth centuries was due not just to its role in the empire's political, economic, administrative and military affairs, but also to its role in the development of the Christian religion. Due to the initial radiation of Christianity from Palestine outwards along the coast of the Mediterranean towards Rome, Antioch became a site of significance early in the history of that religion. The apostles Paul and Peter were both involved in the establishment of a Jesus-following community in that city,¹⁰ at an early stage in the Jesus-movement Antioch became a base for missionary activities to Asia Minor,¹¹ and one of its very first bishops, Ignatius, was martyred in Rome at the beginning of the second century. Because of its apostolic foundation the see of Antioch was accorded a high status, which it continued to enjoy throughout these centuries. In the eastern Mediterranean its only rival was once again Alexandria. When the second ecumenical council held at Constantinople in 381 promoted the see of Constantinople to second in status after Rome, leaving Alexandria and Antioch to vie for third position, it was a bishop of Antioch rather than the bishop of Alexandria who had been selected by the emperor Theodosius I to chair the proceedings. Antioch either hosted or the Antiochene bishop chaired a number of important synods of eastern bishops from the third to fourth centuries¹² and in the fourth and fifth centuries a number of Antiochene clergy became bishops of Constantinople.¹³ The situation at Antioch after the

9. See the cautionary comments of Édouard Will, 'Antioche, la métropole de l'Asie', in Nicolet et al. (eds.), *Mégapoles méditerranéennes*, pp. 482-91, who prefers to see it as the major city in Syria and the diocese of Oriens, but not a rival to Alexandria. Catherine Saliou, 'Mesurer le paradis. Contribution au portrait d'Antioche aux époques romaine et protobyzantine', in Nicolet et al. (eds.), *Mégapoles méditerranéennes*, pp. 802-19, calls it the premier city in its region.

10. For an analysis of the development of Christianity at Antioch at that period see Magnus Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch. A Social-scientific Approach to the Separation Between Judaism and Christianity* (London-New York, 2003); and Thomas A. Robinson, *Ignatius of Antioch and the Parting of the Ways: Early Jewish-Christian Relations* (Peabody, MA, 2009).

11. Acts 11:19-30, 13:1-3, 14:26-28, 18:18-23; Gal. 2:11-14.

12. See Klaus-Peter Todt, *Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969-1204)*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1998) 1, pp. 162-63; and Thomas Maier, 'L'Église d'Antioche comme exemple de la pratique synodale de l'Église ancienne', *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 55 (2005), pp. 229-53.

13. See Wendy Mayer, 'John Chrysostom as Bishop: The View from Antioch', *JEH* 55 (2004), pp. 455-66; and Peter Van Nuffelen, 'Episcopal Succession in Constantinople (381-450 C.E.): the local dynamics of power', *JECs* 18 (2010), pp. 425-51.

Council of Chalcedon in 451 became more complicated, but the see and its bishop still played a major role among the Christian churches in the eastern Mediterranean.

Aside from Antioch's high ecclesiastical standing, the Christian sites associated with that see attracted interest in their own right for a number of reasons. Antioch was a city where certain phenomena happened early, adding interest to the associated buildings. Under the emperor Julian in the early 360s the enforced return of the relics of the martyr Babylas from a martyrdom at Daphne to the main cemetery constitutes an early example of translation. The long history of the Christian community at Antioch also meant that indigenous martyrs were produced during almost every period of persecution, beginning with the bishop Ignatius early in the second century. New martyrs were added as late as the reign of Julian when two soldiers, Juveninus and Maximinus, were killed allegedly for their faith. The accumulation of these martyrs' bodies in the cemetery led to the establishment of shrines, which later evolved into churches and attracted new burials of holy people of status in their vicinity.¹⁴

In addition, Antioch's link with a significant eastern Mediterranean port, its proximity to Palestine, and its convenient location along the land route from Egypt up the Mediterranean coast and across to the far reaches of the West via Asia Minor, Constantinople and Rome cemented its position as a significant staging post on the hagio-tourist's itinerary. In the second half of the fourth century the pilgrim of Bordeaux, the Spanish pilgrim Egeria and the Romans Paula and Jerome all broke their journey at Antioch or stayed there for an extended period.¹⁵ At this same time Antioch began to develop local religious attractions of its own. Individual ascetics and ascetic communities in its vicinity, including Symeon Stylites the Elder in the early decades of the fifth century and Symeon Stylites the Younger in the sixth,¹⁶ drew tourists from a wide variety of locations across the empire. In the sixth century, as attested by the anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza, Antioch was still considered to possess martyria worth incorporating into a western pilgrim's schedule.¹⁷

14. See Wendy Mayer with Bronwen Neil, *St John Chrysostom: The Saint of the Saints* (New York, 2006), pp. 20–21 and 27–28.

15. Wendy Mayer, 'Antioch and the West in Late Antiquity', *Byzantine Studies* (2003), pp. 5–32.

16. See Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 87.

17. *Anonimi Piacentini Itinerarium* 46–47 (CCSL 175, pp. 183–84; *Itinerarium altiora*). Cf. Theodosius, *De situ terrae sanctae* 32 (CCSL 175, p. 125); *Antiochia in the sixth century* document.

Yet another set of factors offers a compelling reason why a book on the churches of Antioch is important and fills a significant gap. At its most basic, the Christian architecture of the cities of Rome, Constantinople, and Jerusalem and the role of those buildings in urban life have been the subject of lengthy study,¹⁸ while Antioch, an equally major city of the empire and equally a subject of imperial benefaction, has been neglected in this regard. Additionally, since the end of the twentieth century renewed interest in the religious history of Antioch has given rise to the application of analytical tools from the disciplines of geography, sociology and anthropology.¹⁹ Interest in the issues of demarcating religious identity and in how Christian preachers constructed imaginative geographies for their audiences and manipulated spatial rhetoric goes hand-in-hand with a focused study of the locations that were utilized in these constructions of place and identity. Understanding the place of Antiochene liturgical practice within the contexts of western and eastern Syria is a debate of longer duration, but one that has recently been renewed.²⁰ A book that supplies data about the *locus* of Christian worship in Antioch and its suburbs constitutes an important tool for such studies.

ANTIOCH'S CHURCHES

The scholar who wishes to engage in a study of the churches of Antioch faces a number of immediate problems. The main archaeological work

18. For some of the many publications see Antoine Chavasse, *La liturgie de la ville de Rome du V^e au VIII^e siècle. Une liturgie conditionnée par l'organisation de la vie in urbe et extra muros* (Studia Anselmiana 112, Analecta Liturgica 18; Rome, 1993); John Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228; Rome, 1987); Richard Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals. Topography and Politics* (Berkeley, 1983); idem, *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, NJ, 1980); and Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park–London, 1977).

19. See Isabella Sandwell, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity: Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge, 2007); Christina Shepardson, 'Controlling Contested Places: John Chrysostom's *Adversus Iudaeos* Homilies and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy', *JES* 15 (2007), pp. 483–516.

20. See Emma Loosley, *The Architecture and Liturgy of the Bema in Fourth- to Sixth-Century Syrian Churches* (Patrimoine Syriaque 2; Kaslik, 2003) who reinterprets evidence addressed, *inter alios*, by Erich Renhart, *Das syrische Bema: liturgisch-archäologische Untersuchungen* (Gräzer theologische Studien 20; Graz, 1995); Georges Tchalenko, *Eglises syriennes à bema. Texte* (IFAO, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 105; Paris, 1990); Robert Taft, 'Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Traditions', *OCP* 34 (1968), pp. 326–59; and idem, 'On the Use of the Bema in the East-Syrian Liturgy', *Eastern Churches Review* 3 (1970), pp. 30–39.

conducted at the ancient site of the city and its suburb Daphne took place in the 1930s and has not as yet been revised or extended.²¹ The recently established Amuq Valley Regional Projects (1995-), conducted primarily by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,²² and the Orontes Survey (1999-), led by Hatice Pamir of Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi, Antakya, in collaboration with Tony Wilkinson and Aslihan Yener,²³ concentrate on sites on the plain of Antioch and the Orontes Delta, rather than on Antioch itself. The joint project by Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi and Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, launched in 2004, which does focus on Antioch, Seleucia Pieria and the Seleucid settlement of Epiphaneia, has concentrated in its initial phase (2004-2008) on producing an accurate topographical survey of the ancient city, including the 1930s excavation sites.²⁴ New systematic excavation of the city and its suburbs still lies in the future.²⁵ Further, the archaeological work undertaken by the 1930s Princeton Expedition was constrained by a number of factors. In 1938 political events resulted in the local imposition of military law and necessitated the evacuation of the American and French members of the team to Beirut, leading to the rapid dispersal of finds and cutting short that season's dig.²⁶ That same year the watercourse

21. For the reports see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, 1-4.2 (Princeton, 1934-52).

22. See the initial published report, Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, and also the web site of the project (<http://oi.uchicago.edu/OI/PROJ/AMU/Amuq.html>).

23. See Hatice Pamir and Eiichi Nishiyama, 'The Orontes Delta Survey: An Archaeological Investigation of Ancient Trade Stations/Settlements', *Ancient West and East* 1/2 (2002), pp. 294-314.

24. For an outline of the project and the reports of the first two seasons see Wolfram Hoepfner, 'Antiochia die Große', *Geschichte einer antiken Stadt*, *Antike Welt* 35/2 (2004), pp. 3-9; Gunnar Brands, 'Orientis apex pulcher—Die Krone des Orients. Antiochia und seine Mauern in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike', *Antike Welt* 35/2 (2004), pp. 11-16; Hatice Pamir, 'Eine Stadt stellt sich vor. Seleukia Pieria und ihre Ruinen', *Antike Welt* 35/2 (2004), pp. 17-21; Winfried Held, 'Königstädte in babylonischer Tradition. Die Residenzstädte der Seleukiden', *Antike Welt* 35/2 (2004), pp. 23-25; Kay Ehling, 'Geprägte Bilder. Münze der Seleukiden in Antiochia', *Antike Welt* 35/2 (2004), pp. 27-31; Gunnar Brands and Hatice Pamir, 'Asi Deltası ve Asi Vadisi Arkeoloji Projesi Antiocheia, Seleucia Pieria ve Sabuniye Üzrey Araştırmaları 2004 Yılı Çalışmaları - The Orontes River Sabuniye Projects: Report on the 2004 Preliminary Campaign', in 21. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2. Cilt, 30 Mayıs-3 Haziran 2005, Antalya (Antakya, 2006), pp. 49-102; and Preliminary Results of the Geophysical Survey, in 21. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 30 Mayıs-3 Haziran 2005, Antalya (Antakya, 2006), pp. 143-150.

25. A small-scale rescue excavation commenced in mid 2010 on a tumulus site in the old city, reported by Hatice Pamir, 'Recent archaeological investigations and future research programme on Antioch and its vicinity', *Étude en Lézion Topographique Antioche*, Les sources de l'histoire du paysage urbain d'Antioche, 20 et 21 septembre 2010, Université Paris-8.

26. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, p. 6.

Parmenius, which, during rain storms, flows as a torrent from Mt Silpius through the city, demonstrated its capacity, flooding the dig at Antioch, although the weather system was local and did not affect the work at the Orontes port city of Seleucia Pieria.²⁷ The effect of the flow of such cataracts over the intervening centuries and periodic flooding of the Orontes also significantly constrained the extent and nature of the sites at Antioch that were surveyed. By the early twentieth century much of the old city had become buried beneath alluvial deposits extending in places to a depth of eleven metres. When combined with a high water table for a significant portion of the season in each year devoted to the survey, access to some sectors of the old city was severely impeded.²⁸ A similar situation was encountered at Seleucia Pieria in the lower city. Economic and public relations considerations also played a role. As Christine Kondoleon observes, the team had secured permission to excavate on the expectation of finding the great monuments of the literary sources. When these proved elusive, both funding and permission were threatened and it took the discovery of the first of the significant mosaics to restore credit. The subsequent direction of investigation was substantially altered and the original topographical focus became diffused by exploration of the mosaic riches of Antioch and Daphne.²⁹ Finally, the outbreak of World War II and the annexation of the region by Turkey prematurely terminated this work.

As a result of a combination of these factors, only four churches or martyria from our period were excavated,³⁰ none inside the walls of Antioch itself. Of these, only two were examined with any thoroughness and only one can be identified with any certainty. The material evidence remains silent about the Great Church, the Palaia, the Church of the Maccabees and the numerous martyria of which we receive tantalizing glimpses in the literary sources. This brings us to a second set of problems—that the bulk of the evidence is literary and that the connection between the literary and material evidence is tenuous at best. The piecemeal nature of the archaeological work and its limitations leave us with a lack of reliable economic, architectural and social data against which to test the literary evidence. As we will see shortly, the literary sources are associated with significant problems of their own. The uneven bias of

27. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, pp. 5-6.

28. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, p. 1.

29. Christine Kondoleon (ed.), *Antioch. The Lost Ancient City* (Princeton, 2000), p. 7.

30. A fifth church was excavated at Daphne (D-53-I/K), but the re-use of the site of an original rectangular building of the fourth to sixth centuries for a church in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries places this building beyond our chronological scope. See Glanville Downey, 'The Church at Daphne', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 1, pp. 107-13.

the sources can be said to leave us with two fragmentary pictures of the same subject, very few of the existing portions of which align, from which we must somehow assemble a single picture that makes sense.

THE SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

Before we discuss the character of the sources and their limitations in greater depth, it is important to define what fits within this survey of the Christian sites of worship at Antioch and what does not. It is also important to point out that while there is some justification for the upper chronological limit of the survey, the establishment of that particular *terminus ad quem* may give a false impression of decline or of the termination of Christian worship within the city and serve to obscure continuity with the centuries beyond.

Firstly, however, we must explain what we mean by 'church'. For the purposes of this survey the term 'church' includes within its semantic range any building used regularly by the local Christian communities for worship, and any shrine or building associated with a saint that is used at least once a year for public worship on a saint's festival. The use of such sites for private devotion on other occasions fits within this conceptual range. Also included are public spaces used for ordinary worship at times when church buildings were unavailable, and included in the analysis in Part Three, but not in the survey in Part One, are the public spaces used during the processions associated with stational liturgies. Excluded are buildings and spaces used for worship by monastic or ascetical communities. Thus what we are primarily concerned with are the buildings and sites widely used by the local Christian communities as a whole, rather than those that were restricted in use to a particular group of monks or ascetics.

Secondly, we must define the geographic parameters of our survey. What do we mean by 'Antioch'? Our interest lies with recovering how the people who lived in the city and its suburbs during the centuries in question perceived their local environment, as distinct from the administrative boundaries of the city or of the *metropolis*. When they thought of Antioch and, indeed, when someone thought of Antioch, what did that mean? Did they consider Antioch to be a settlement inside the city walls? Did they include Daphne? How far did the *territorium* of Antioch and Daphne extend? As you moved away from the suburbs, when did you find yourself in territory considered rural?

These are difficult questions to answer. One solution might be to define the boundaries linguistically. As long as Greek was spoken, a person remained within Antiochene space. As soon as Syriac became the primary language, one had moved beyond it.³¹ This definition proves less than useful, however, as the epigraphic evidence indicates that the linguistic situation in the countryside was more complex than the literary sources portray.³² We do know that conceptually and in practical terms Daphne was considered an extension of the city. The Syrian Olympic Games were partly held at a stadium in Daphne and partly at a stadium on the island in the Orontes, with a procession of the athletes from one to the other location.³³ The newly discovered satellite community,³⁴ situated on a plateau on the top of Mt Staurin and enclosed by its own walls (fig. 2), is likely to have functioned in a similar way. This allows us to think of Antioch as not just the area inside the city walls, but also the territory stretching from the cemetery outside the walls in the south-west up to and including the outer limits of Daphne and the territory up the sides of both Mt Silpius and Mt Staurin, including the top of Mt Staurin. The proliferation of martyr shrines and churches in cemeteries during the fourth century, which were regularly used within the annual liturgical cycle, is well attested for Antioch,³⁵ and so it is important to include any cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of Antioch and also Daphne. The *campus martius* of Antioch was located outside the city walls across the Orontes, as was also situated the Church at Qausiyeh (Church of St Babylas?), and so we need also to include a reasonable area along the western bank of the Orontes to at least the length of the area enclosed by the city walls.³⁶

31. John Chrysostom, a native of Antioch who lived there in the second half of the fourth century, himself used this distinction. See *De ss. martyribus* (PG 50, 646 8-16), where difference in language is considered to distinguish the inhabitants of the city from those who dwell in the surrounding countryside.

32. Tasha Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina: A Port of Antioch from Late Antiquity to the End of the Ottomans* (Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten 104; Leiden, 2005), pp. 40-41, argues that the epigraphic data show that the countryside was multilingual, with individuals speaking either Syriac or Greek or both.

33. See J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch, City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), pp. 136-37.

34. See Hoepfner, "Antiochia die Große", pp. 3-9, who speculatively identifies it as Epiphaneia.

35. See Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, passim.

36. Gunnar Brands, Antioch Study Day, Dumbarton Oaks, 16 April 2010, indicated that, while conducting a geodetic survey of this area, evidence that the Church at Qausiyeh was situated in a developed suburban area was found.

At Constantinople the city was never conceptualized as simply the land mass bounded by water and enclosed by walls, but functioned as a conurbation which included the waters surrounding the city proper, the settlement of Sykai to the north of the Golden Horn and the administrative settlement of Chalcedon on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus.³⁷ In light of the discrepancy between administrative boundaries and functionality in that instance, and the commercial importance, on the one hand, of the road connecting Antioch's walled city to the land route to the West via Constantinople and of the river Orontes as the land route to the Mediterranean Sea, on the other, there is some justification in extending our artificial boundaries by a minimum of one kilometre along each of the roads to Alexandretta, Beroea and Seleucia Pieria.³⁸ We should probably also think of the stretch of the Orontes to the north-east of the walled city that led into the marshes of the Antiochene plain (via which agricultural goods arrived at Antioch) and include the harbour city of Seleucia Pieria itself as a commercial extension of Antioch (fig. 3). This is a very generous interpretation of what it meant to think of Antioch as its citizen, but one which we hope will avoid the exclusion of sites of worship that were viewed by those who inhabited the city as to some degree normative to their everyday life. Conceptual boundaries are not static and so it should also be kept in mind that the extent of the geographical area viewed as Antiochene will have expanded or contracted as the fortunes of the city waxed and waned.³⁹

37. See Cyril Mango, 'The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Center', in Averil D. Carastaz (ed.), *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Main Papers* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), p. 118; Wendy Mayer, 'The Sea Made Holy: The Liturgical Function of the Waters Surrounding Constantinople', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 112 (1998), pp. 439-64.

38. Libanius, Gr. II.231-32, talks of considerable suburban development outside the city walls along the road to Beroea, which, in addition to the situation of the Church at Quastai near the road to Alexandretta may suggest that one should consider the initial segments of all of the trade arteries to and from Antioch an extension of the city. Casana and Wilkinson, in Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, p. 42, note that their survey of the northern suburbs of Antioch shows that by the first century CE the suburbs extended at least 2 km to the north of the city walls.

39. This may be the case with Seleucia Pieria in particular. Under the Seleucids it was the capital of north-western Syria and the headquarters of the Seleucid navy, and it was although Antioch was linked with Seleucia Pieria from the beginning, the latter city which was initially dominant (see Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 54-60). The status of the latter capital to Antioch was made under Antiochus I (280/82-61 BCE). One of the major points of the relationship between the two settlements to have remained prominent into at least the early period of our survey. The question to be posed is to what extent the two remained economically and conceptually linked up to the end of the sixth century and how relations between the two altered over time.

Thirdly, the chronological constraints of the project require nuancing in order to avoid false conclusions about the development of Antioch and its churches. The project begins with the opening of the fourth century. Although mention of a Christian community at Antioch is found as early as the second century in the book of Acts and the letters of one of its first bishops, Ignatius, no evidence concerning physical places of worship occurs until the fourth century. The *terminus ad quem* is the fourth decade of the seventh century, partly because the transformation of the Hellenic character of the city more or less became complete with the Arab conquest of the city in 637/38 CE,⁴⁰ and partly because the sources for Antioch beyond that period survive in oriental languages that lie beyond our competence. That the Arab conquest has been considered the natural boundary for a multitude of studies that relate to Antioch is a factor, however, which needs to be addressed.⁴¹ It should not necessarily be seen as a defining event, that is, as the decisive blow via which a city weakened by earthquakes and war with Persia during the sixth century finally sank into obscurity.⁴² Although the thesis of substantial economic decline in Syria in the sixth century, especially from 540 CE onwards, prevails,⁴³

40. Hugh Kennedy, 'From polis to madina: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria', *P&P* 106 (1985), pp. 3-27 [repr. in Hugh Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (Variorum Collected Studies Series; Aldershot, 2006), I], argues that the process had already begun in the sixth century. See also Hugh Kennedy and J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, 'Antioch and the Villages of Northern Syria in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D.: Trends and Problems', *NMS* 32 (1988), pp. 65-90.

41. So Robert Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Études Palestiniennes et Orientales; Paris, 1945), Glanville Downey, *A History of Antioch from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961), and Maraval, *Lieux saints*, all conclude their studies with that event.

42. This view, now entrenched, was promoted by Downey, *Antioch*, p. 13: 'And this is how the history of Antioch came to an end. An extraordinary series of calamities within seventeen years in the time of Justinian...left the city in a permanently reduced condition. A century later the Moslem conquest of Syria ended the story.'

43. Based in large part on the interpretation of evidence from the north Syrian villages of the limestone massif, with the introduction of comparative evidence from Caesarea Maritima. See Georges Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif du Bélus à l'époque romaine*, 3 vols (Paris, 1953-58); Jean-Pierre Sodin and Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Déhès (Syrie du Nord)', *Campagnes I-III (1976-1978), Recherches sur l'habitat rural*, *Syria* 57 (1980), pp. 1-303; Hugh Kennedy, 'The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 10 (1985), pp. 141-83 [repr. in Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, 2]; idem, 'Recent French Archaeological Work in Syria and Jordan. A Review Article', *BMGS* 11 (1987), pp. 245-52; Georges Tate, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du IV^e au VII^e siècle* 1 (Paris, 1992); Clive Foss, 'The Near Eastern Countryside in Late Antiquity: A Review Article', in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research* (JRA Supplementary Series 14; Ann Arbor, MI, 1995), pp. 213-23. For an overview of the chronologies proposed see, in addition to the latter review article by Foss, Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine* (Winona Lake, IN, 2003), pp. 195-99.

the most recent archaeological work in the region calls for a reconsideration of this view.⁴⁴ Jodi Magness, in particular, offers a re-reading of the north Syrian archaeological evidence with an associated radical redating, which leads her to conclude that contrary to the belief that Syria suffered a serious decline in economy and population from the mid-sixth century onwards the opposite is in fact the case: 'the mid sixth to mid seventh century witnessed a tremendous growth of the population as well as of maritime trade'.⁴⁵ While her conclusions may be as vulnerable to bias as those of Tchalenko, Kennedy and Tate,⁴⁶ the possibility – perhaps (on the basis of improved coin and ceramic chronologies for the Byzantine Near East) probability – that the theory of decline is misguided needs to be kept in mind.

How we should view the local problems that beset Antioch at the latter end of our survey in light of this re-reading of the material evidence for the region is a question that will become important in Part Two. This is especially the case when we consider the preliminary conclusions of the team conducting the Amuq Valley Regional Projects, which recently revisited the northern suburbs of Antioch in brief as part of its survey. They note that in tandem with the abandonment of a large number of towns and villages in the Amuq Valley at this period Antioch became much reduced in size, although these developments must be placed in the context of the growth at this same period of other urban centres and

44. See John Haldon (ed.), *Money, Power and Politics in Early Islamic Syria: A Review of Current Debates* (Aldershot 2010); Alan Walmsley, 'Economic Developments and the Nature of Settlement in the Towns and Countryside of Syria-Palestine, ca. 565-800 CE', *DOP* 61 (2007), pp. 319-52; Estelle Villeneuve and Pamela M. Watson (eds.), *La céramique byzantine et proto-islamique en Syrie-Jordanie (IV^e-VIII^e siècles apr. J.-C.): actes du colloque tenu à Amman les 3, 4 et 5 décembre 1994* (Beirut, 2001); Pierre Canivet and Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VII^e-VIII^e siècles. Actes du colloque international, Lyon-Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen, Paris-Institut du monde arabe, 11-15 septembre 1990* (Damascus, 1992). In particular Frank R. Trombley, 'Demographic and Cultural Transition in the territorium of Antioch, 6th-10th c.', in Bernadette Cabouret, Pierre-Louis Gatier and Catherine Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Topoi supplément 5; Lyon, 2004), pp. 341-62, argues that the archaeological data that will produce a fuller picture.

45. Magness, *Early Islamic Settlement*, p. 214. Similar conclusions are reported in regard to the economy of settlements in the Amuq Valley in a period by Andrea di Giorgi, 'The Amuq Valley Project et son apport à la connaissance de l'habitat urbain et des environs d'Antioche', delivered at *Les villes byzantines et proto-islamiques: l'habitat urbain et d'Antioche sur l'Oronte - pour un Lexique topographique* (Lyon, 2004), pp. 10-11, and in a recent international, jeudi 21 et vendredi 22 janvier 2010, *Proche-Orient*.

46. The evidence for the limestone inscriptions has been interpreted in three different ways, all with differing results: see, for example, Jodi Magness, *Early Islamic Settlement*.

the founding of many new and significant sites. It is unclear precisely when these developments occurred and they may have taken place at any time between the sixth and eighth or even tenth centuries.⁴⁷ For the northern suburbs of Antioch, however, the archaeological evidence for the sudden destruction of a number of buildings of the fifth or sixth century due to landslide, perhaps as a result of earthquake, is clear, and as there is no evidence of re-occupation Jesse Casana, a member of the Amuq Valley team, is tempted to read this as evidence for the decline of Antioch following the sixth century.⁴⁸ The apparent demise of Antioch's port, Seleucia Pieria, following the 526 and 528 earthquakes, and the resurgence of the Orontes Delta port of al-Mina following this period may also have been a critical factor in the economic fortunes of Antioch.⁴⁹ However this varied evidence is to be read, in the meantime it should be kept in mind that 638 CE is an artificial boundary and it is proposed that viewing Antioch in the sixth and seventh centuries from the perspective of continuity and/or transition is a more helpful model than one of cessation or absolute decline.⁵⁰

47. Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, pp. 44-45.

48. Jesse Casana, 'The Archaeological Landscape of Late Roman Antioch', in Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson (eds.), *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 118-20.

49. See Hatice Pamir's report on the Orontes Delta survey in Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, pp. 67-98, and in particular the conclusion drawn on p. 75. Seleucia Pieria had superseded two earlier ports (al-Mina and Sabuniye) and so a shift in the focus of settlement back to al-Mina following the sixth century is significant. Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina*, pp. 68-69, is more cautious, arguing that in earlier archaeological work at the site crucial coarse wares from the fourth to the sixth and the seventh to the eighth centuries were simply discarded. Our own finding regarding the date of a repaired mosaic in a church in the upper city of Seleucia Pieria (see Part One, pp. 65-66) may also indicate that the port continued to function into at least the seventh century.

50. Butcher, *Roman Syria*, pp. 423-26, for instance, takes this approach, stressing both that in the sixth century Roman Syria was already suffering for a number of reasons and that under Ummayyad control Syria became the seat of power of a realm that 'by the early eighth century extended from Spain to the Indus, with Damascus at its heart'. He views the takeover of Syria as relatively benign, although the evidence suggests that, while other cities and regions in Syria prospered, pre-existing and continuing local factors at Antioch may well have contributed to a failure to fare as well. Local factors may also have balanced each other out to some extent. While the transferral of provincial administration from Antioch to Damascus under the Ummayyad government will have had some economic consequences, this was perhaps offset by the stationing of a garrison at Antioch in the seventh century and by Antioch's continuing role as an intermediary between eastern and western trade routes, especially as trade from the far East became easier and increased under Muslim rule (Vorderstrasse, *Al-Mina*, pp. 63-66). Hugh Kennedy, 'Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam and Back Again', in John Rich (ed.), *The City in Late Antiquity* (London, 1992), pp. 181-98 [repr. in Kennedy, *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, 7], himself acknowledges the retention of the classical street system at Antioch, which speaks against any radical change under Muslim rule, but talks of late-antique

THE SOURCES AND THEIR LIMITATIONS

As already mentioned, the preponderance of the sources for Christian sites of worship at Antioch from the second to the seventh centuries is literary. Only a small amount of archaeological evidence exists. This is in the form of architectural evidence (site plans, and analyses of building phases, masonry and construction techniques) and evidence of decorative features, namely floor mosaics, marble pavement and fragments of revetments. In three of the churches excavated, the mosaics included inscriptions. In the case of only one of the four, however, is the evidence straightforward and open to only a limited range of interpretation. The four churches excavated were a building in the lower half of Seleucia Pieria identified initially as a martyrium (20/21-J);⁵¹ the 'Church at Qausiyeh' across the Orontes near the road to Qausiyeh (12/13-F/G);⁵² the 'Church at Machouka', near the road to Beroea (located variously at 9U/V/W),⁵³ and a building located in the upper city of Seleucia Pieria (17-C) (see figs. 4-5).⁵⁴ In the case of the 'martyrium' at Seleucia Pieria problems with high-lying water, time, and an overlying more recent structure meant that the full extent of the complex could not be traced,

decline, survival in the early Islamic period on a reduced scale, further decline in the ninth and tenth centuries and a significant revival from the late tenth to twelfth centuries.

51. Reported in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, pp. 35-54.

52. Reported in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 2, pp. 5-44.

53. Not published in the archaeological reports (listed as an incidental discovery at 9 V/W, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 2, p. 4). See Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, pp. 367-69 and 2, pl. CXLII, who publishes a floor-plan and photograph of the cleared site (locating it at 9V) and photos of the mosaics; and Sheila Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Subsidia Mediaevalia 15; Toronto, 1988), p. 12, who inventories the mosaics, but locates the site at 9U. Pending publication of the results of the Pamir-Brands topographical survey in which they locate the excavation site precisely, our location of the church on the grid in fig. 4 is at best approximate.

54. Noted in any detail only in Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, p. 482 n. 346, but possibly the subject of a reference in the Field Director's notes for 1939 (p. 3), where the discovery near the harbour entrance of a church with mosaics is recorded. There is a possible discrepancy between the director's 'near the harbour entrance' and Levi's record (via Campbell's notes) of the church as in the upper city on a cliff, but it is unlikely that two of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia' DOP 27 (1973), p. 93 n. 11, indicates that he attempted to consult Campbell's field notes regarding this found to be missing. Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (1st ed., Baltimore, MD, 1965), p. 106, who originally thought that only two churches had been excavated (the church at Qausiyeh and the 'martyrium' at Seleucia Pieria), subsequently added the church at Machouka in the fourth century excavations in 1986, p. 138, but remained ignorant of this second church at Seleucia Pieria.

nor could excavations be conducted beyond a superficial depth. In the case of the Church at Machouka and the church in the upper city at Seleucia, excavations were undertaken in haste for a number of reasons and little, if any, of the results were written up for publication.⁵⁵ The structures of the churches that were excavated to some degree vary in form from a central-plan tetraconch with projecting wing to cruciform to a classical three-aisled basilica. The absence of material evidence or even confirmation of the site of the Great Church, the Palaia, the Church of the Maccabees within the Antiochene city walls, any of the numerous martyria within or in the vicinity of its cemeteries, or any of the churches and martyria in Daphne has already been mentioned.

The literary evidence is varied in genre and often requires a delicate understanding of the constraints involved, if one is to interpret it reliably. Homilies, ecclesiastical histories, military histories, chronicles, hagiographies and panegyrics provide the bulk of the evidence. *Itineraria* (travel diaries) and the occasional letter provide some marginal evidence. Each genre is associated with its own set of methodological problems. Chronicles and ecclesiastical histories, for instance, often went through several editions as they were produced and the quality of the data they contain is reliant on the sources that they used.⁵⁶ In the case of chronicles, in particular, the later the document, the greater the likelihood of error in the data for centuries remote in time from the period of production, particularly in regard to the issue of date.⁵⁷ Knowledge of the chronicler's/historian's sources is thus an important key to interpretation. The agenda of the author/s is also significant. Thus John Malalas, who writes from the perspective of Antioch for much of the first edition of his work, is an important and much relied upon source, but his Antiochene bias leads him to present an aggrandized and mythologized account of the city's origins.⁵⁸ John of Nikiu, a Coptic bishop of the later seventh century, on

55. The church in Seleucia's upper city was discovered on the very last day of the last year of excavation and only a very cursory inspection could be undertaken (Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, p. 482 n. 346). Levi is also the main published source for the church at Machouka.

56. Evagrius Scholasticus, for instance, who in the 590s produced an ecclesiastical history of considerable importance for our knowledge of Antioch, bases much of his earlier information on John Malalas. John of Nikiu relies heavily on this same source.

57. See, e.g., Guidoboni's analysis of the sources for the earthquake of c. 570 (no. 226), in Emanuela Guidoboni, with Alberto Comastri, and Giusto Traina, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, rev. ed. of *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea*, trans. Brian Phillips (Rome, 1994), p. 346.

58. See Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 56-66.

the other hand, writes as an anti-Chalcedonian and so his account of events at Antioch after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE is filtered through that perspective. This latter chronicle also demonstrates the difficulties that can attach to the survival of such works. Written originally in Greek and perhaps also partly in Coptic,⁵⁹ it was translated from Greek into Arabic and in 1602 from Arabic into Ethiopic. This late Ethiopic translation is the only version that survives. What we have available to us is thus at two removes from the original document. In the process of transmission, moreover, large portions of the chronicle have been lost.⁶⁰ Similarly, what appears to be an early edition of the chronicle of John Malalas in its original Greek was translated into Old Slavonic and subsequently excerpted, while the Greek text was subsequently modified, with the result that the Slavonic, although no longer complete, at times witnesses to material that no longer survives in the Greek.⁶¹

Navigating the relationship between histories for which the period of chronological focus is the same can add another layer of complexity. Thus in the case of the ecclesiastical historians Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, who produced their histories within a short time span of each other,⁶² it is important to know that while Sozomen utilizes the *HE* of Socrates to a substantial degree, he reworks Socrates' material in such a way as to discredit it in favour of his own seemingly more objective and dispassionate account. The two historians have different agendas.

59. See Robert H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu translated from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text* (Oxford, 1916), p. iv.

60. Charles, *Chronicle*, pp. iii-v.

61. See Simon Franklin, 'Malalas in Slavonic', in Elizabeth Jeffreys with Brian Croke and Roger Scott (eds.), *Studies in John Malalas* (Byzantina Australiensia 6; Sydney, 1990), pp. 276-87.

62. The relative date of the histories is still the subject of some debate, but both appear to have been written in or around the 440s. Sozomen, whose *HE* is dedicated to Theodosius II (d. 450), uses Socrates' work and so his own history must have been published no later than 450, but post-date the latter. Since the last event recorded by Socrates occurred in 439 and there are reasons for locating the finished work no later than 443, ranges for the two histories of 439-43 and c. 443-50 have been considered plausible. See Theresa Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople. Historian of Church and State* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997), p. 20. Timothy D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius. Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), pp. 205-206, however, believes it probable that Socrates completed his work in 439 and accepts that at least the last book in Sozomen's history was written in 450 'after Pulcheria's return to power and favour in the last months of Theodosius' life'. More recently Yves Van Nuffelen, *Chronique de paix de Léontius de Nécessite. Étude sur les histoires ecclésiastiques de Sozomène et de Socrate* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 142; Leuven-Paris-Édilburg, 2004), pp. 10-11, argues for a date of 439-440 for Socrates' history on the basis that it was written in a single edition. This permits Van Nuffelen, pp. 59-61, to extend the period in which Sozomen produced his own history (439-440 to 450).

Socrates, who writes from a Novatian perspective,⁶³ is interested in seeking to demonstrate the importance of the unity of church and empire and the harmful effects of dissension,⁶⁴ with the result that theological disputes, schismatic behaviour and the effects on the empire of barbarian incursion are accorded a degree of prominence. Sozomen displays a greater interest in monasticism,⁶⁵ introduces hagiographical material, and at times adopts Socrates' account wholesale; at others, he reworks it so that events are presented in a more favourable light.⁶⁶ Even though they cover much of the same material and the second is highly derivative of the first, the two must be viewed independently. Despite being the product of a native of Antioch, the *HE* of Theodoret, also produced at this time,⁶⁷ tells us considerably less about events at that location. Theodoret's agenda is different yet again, being in part to vindicate his own theological position.⁶⁸ To make matters even more complicated, the recent editor of Malalas' *Chronographia*, Thurn, restores the Greek from the Slavonic in places where the Slavonic is fuller, employing reverse

63. Confirmed at length by Martin Wallraff, *Der Kirchenhistoriker Sokrates. Untersuchungen zu Geschichtsdarstellung, Methode und Person* (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 68; Göttingen, 1997), pp. 235-54, who argues that Socrates' stance is eirenic and should therefore not be too highly stressed. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix*, pp. 14-46, carefully documents the pro-Novatian sympathies of the circle in which Socrates moved at Constantinople, but views him as more proactive in promoting a Novatian agenda.

64. The conclusion of Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople*. Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix*, pp. 105-124, offers a more nuanced view of Socrates' agenda in this regard.

65. For the role of monasticism in Socrates' overriding theme of the Christian revolution see Van Nuffelen, *Un héritage de paix*, pp. 128-33.

66. See Günther C. Hansen, *Sozomenos. Historia Ecclesiastica. Kirchengeschichte* (Fontes Christiani 73/4, 4 vols; Turnhout, 2004) 1, pp. 29-42.

67. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius*, p. 209, dates it to the late 440s, locating it before the completion by Sozomen of his own *HE*. Brian Croke, 'Dating Theodoret's *Church History* and *Commentary on the Psalms*', *Byz.* 54 (1984), pp. 59-74, esp. p. 73, who narrows to 444/45-July 449 the termini of the period within which the history is likely to have been produced, believes that it post-dated Sozomen. Hartmut Leppin, *Von Constantin dem Großen zu Theodosius II. Das christliche Kaisertum bei den Kirchenhistorikern Socrates, Sozomenus und Theodoret* (Hypomnemata 110; Göttingen, 1996), pp. 281-82, arrives at much the same conclusion.

68. This is not to say that Theodoret's theology influences his account explicitly (see Glenn F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories. Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and Evagrius* [Théologie historique 46; Paris, 1977], p. 202), who documents only one instance). Rather, his theological position manifests itself in the prominent position he gives to the Arian controversy, which he views as requiring an Antiochene christology, if it is to be effectively countered (*ibid.*, pp. 203-204). For Theodoret's overall biases and agenda see Leppin, *Von Constantin*, pp. 253-59. For his rewriting of the history of Antioch's Christian community in favour of the Meletian Nicene faction see Annick Martin, 'Antioche aux IV^e et V^e siècles. Un exemple de réécriture orthodoxe de l'histoire chrétienne', *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 75 (2009), pp. 279-94.

translation, a technique which, despite the apparent conservatism of the Slavonic translation/s in parts, is problematic at best.⁶⁹

The nature of the data we can expect from such sources is varied. Chronicles and ecclesiastical histories are more likely to provide information about the dates of the building, dedication and destruction of churches, and to discuss the successive possession of churches by different Christian factions. They record significant events that took place at such sites and the burial of significant individuals in them or in their vicinity. Of the chronicles and histories that contain information about the churches of Antioch, the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates and Sozomen are important sources for the third to early fifth centuries, while the two most important sources for the fifth to sixth centuries are the *Chronographia* of John Malalas and the *HE* of Evagrius Scholasticus. Antioch is the focus of both Malalas and Evagrius, who were themselves educated at Antioch and for periods resident there in the sixth century.⁷⁰ Procopius, who under Justinian travelled the eastern frontier in the service of the general Belisarius, ought to be a significant source for the effects of the Persian wars of the first half of the sixth century on the buildings of Antioch, having seen much of what took place at first hand.⁷¹

69. See, e.g., Johannes Thurn (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae chronographia* (Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae 35; Berlin, 2000), pp. 346–50 (Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16), where the text restored from the Slavonic is distinguished from the text edited from the Greek manuscripts by italics. For discussion of the problems raised by this practice see Irène Sorlin, 'Les fragments slaves de Malalas et le problème de leur retroversion en grec', in Joëlle Beaucamp, Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, Anne-Marie Bernardi, Bernadette Cabouret and Emmanuèle Caire (eds.), *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas 1* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 15; Paris, 2004), pp. 137–45.

70. On the career of Evagrius and his Antiochene focus see Pauline Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 41; Leuven, 1981); Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Translated Texts for Historians 33; Liverpool, 2000), pp. xiii–xx. For Malalas see Brian Croke, 'Malalas, the Man and his Work', in Elizabeth Jeffreys et al. (eds.), *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 1–38 at pp. 2–11. It is important to note that Evagrius' perspective on ecclesiastical matters at Antioch is that of a neo-Chalcedonian, that is, he adopts an eirenic position: see Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus*, passim. Malalas offers his own peculiar focus and biases in regard to religious history. See Annick Martin, 'L'histoire ecclésiastique intéressée-t-elle Malalas?', in Beaucamp et al., *Recherches sur la chronique 1*, pp. 85–102; and Frédéric Alpi, 'L'Orientation christologique des livres XVI et XVII de Malalas: les règnes d'Anastase (491–518) et de Justin I^{er} (518–527)', in Sandrine Agusta-Boularot, Joëlle Beaucamp, Anne-Marie Bernardi and Emmanuèle Caire (eds.), *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas 2* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et de Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 24; Paris, 2006), pp. 227–42.

71. Anthony Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: The Secret History* (University of California Press, 2004), pp. 1–2. Kaldellis argues that the *Secret History* has varied in recent decades, but see now Kaldellis et al., *Procopius: The Secret History*, which takes a more positive approach by situating Procopius within the classical historiographical tradition.

His interest, however, is also in producing imperial panegyric and so in his *De aedificiis* his account of Justinian's restoration of Antioch after the Persian war contains detail that, when viewed against the account offered by Malalas, looks suspiciously like the result of a deliberate blurring of dates.⁷²

Homilies are quite different in character and provide a different level of information. Since both preacher and audience know what building they are in at the time that a homily is delivered, the preacher rarely provides explicit information. Nonetheless general descriptions of a building's interior occur, and information may occasionally be supplied about interior layout or the involvement of the local bishop in construction or alterations. More commonly data are supplied that allow us to infer which building is used on a certain liturgical occasion, or the identity of the particular saint/s whose relics are buried in that location. In the case of Antioch two corpora of homilies survive that provide data important for this survey (that of John Chrysostom, dating from the last two decades of the fourth century, and of Severus, anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch in the second decade of the sixth century). While the 125 surviving homilies of Severus span a narrow period (512–18) and many of them can be reliably dated, in the case of John it is often unclear how many of the more than 800 authentic homilies that survive can be attributed to the twelve-year period (386–97) of his presbyterate at Antioch.⁷³ The difficulties involved in determining provenance in this case make the dating of his homilies particularly problematic. It also needs to be kept in mind that both Severus and John preached at times when the Antiochene Christian community within which they operated was only one of several factions that utilized the churches in and near

72. On the panegyric character of *De aedificiis* see Mary Whitby, 'Procopius' *Buildings*, Book I: A Panegyric Perspective', *Ant. Tard.* 8 (2000), pp. 45–57. On the different rhetorical agenda of Procopius and Malalas and how the respective agenda influence their descriptions of building at Antioch during Justinian's reign see Elizabeth Jeffreys, 'Malalas, Procopius and Justinian's buildings', *Ant. Tard.* 8 (2000), pp. 73–79, esp. pp. 74–75 and p. 79 n. 24. But see also Michael Whitby, 'Procopius and Antioch', in David H. French and Christopher S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire. Proceedings of a Colloquium Held at Ankara in September 1988*, Part II (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph No. 11; BAR International Series 553; Ankara, 1989), pp. 537–53, who argues that in the case of Justinian's repair of the Iron Gate Procopius based his account on an official written report, which he then interpreted through his knowledge of flood control measures at Dara and Edessa, leading to inaccuracies for a different reason.

73. For a definitive discussion of the substantial difficulties involved see Wendy Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom—Provenance: Reshaping the Foundations* (OCA 273; Rome, 2005).

the city. In the case of Severus, his episcopal oversight encompassed adherents of both the Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian positions, but there was resistance to his election among the Chalcedonian community and a certain portion worshipped separately;⁷⁴ in the case of John, his presbyteral duties were confined to the larger of two Nicene communities, while a homoian community and, at one point, an Apollinarian faction also, worshipped at Antioch.⁷⁵ Thus the picture they supply of that city's churches is partial and the broader context within which that picture fits must be kept in mind.

The kinds of data found in hagiographical material often differ in detail but little in substance from those found in chronicles, histories and homilies. Most often they refer to the building itself or the use to which a particular building is put. Interpretation of the data embedded within such texts, however, can involve substantial difficulty. Firstly, the date/location of the subject matter of a hagiography and the date/location of its composition do not always coincide. Where this is the case it becomes important to distinguish between the two and to determine whether the data are more likely to reflect the period/locale described or the period/locale at which the hagiography was composed. A case in point is the legend of Mar Qardagh, the acts of a Persian martyr recorded in the Sassanian period. As Joel Walker, who has recently analyzed it, demonstrates, while the hagiography has no historical value for the period it purports to describe, it nonetheless proves to be a valuable resource concerning the cultural history of the period at which it was written down.⁷⁶ One of the more important skills involved in reading hagiographical texts thus lies in determining the correct set of questions to ask. Secondly, often the author of a hagiography cannot be identified reliably, leading to difficulty dating the text in the first instance. This in turn impacts on our capacity to assess from what angle a text is best approached. So in the case of the *Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger*, although the author claims to be a disciple of Symeon,⁷⁷ such claims can

74. On the plurality of Christianity in Antioch in the early sixth century see Pauline Allen and C.T.R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (The Early Church Fathers; London-New York, 2004), p. 17. Frédéric Alpi, *La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les Églises d'Orient* (512-518) (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique/Institut français du Proche-Orient 188; 2 vols.; Beyrouth, 2009), I, pp. 281-89, discusses Christian plurality in regard to the Antiochene see as a whole.

75. See Robert L. Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (The Transformation of the I. J. L. Studies 4; Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1983), pp. 10-18.

76. Joel Walker, *The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Representations of Christianity in Late Antique Iraq* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 2004).

77. *Vita Sym. iun. 71*; Paul Van den Ven (ed.), *La vie ancienne de Symeon Stylite le jeune* (521-592) vol. 1 (Subsidia hagiographica 83; Brussels, 1980), pp. 10-11.

also be a literary topos,⁷⁸ and there is little to indicate in this instance whether it is fact or fiction.⁷⁹ If it is fact and the *life* was composed shortly after Symeon's death (592),⁸⁰ then the text contains important information concerning Antioch in the critical sixth century. If not, then the data contained in this *Vita* can only be used with considerable care. Thirdly, like chronicles and histories, the fixed (written) form in which we receive a hagiography is often the result of multiple recensions. Stories passed down orally gain accretions and eventually receive a static form in one or more written texts. In the process, different communities may appropriate the story for their own purposes. So in the case of the *Life of Symeon Stylites the Elder* three versions distinctly different in character and anecdotes survive of which the earliest Syriac version and the Greek text purportedly written by his disciple Antony supply two different accounts of where Symeon's body was buried on arrival at Antioch.⁸¹ The Greek account deliberately inserts into the series of events a church unmentioned in the record at the time of Symeon's death (459) but which later had significance for the community within which the Greek *Life* developed.⁸² The two texts are nonetheless closely related versions of the same story. Fourthly, as in the case of Pelagia of Antioch, we can also have two different sets of stories that become attached to a single person, causing confusion in the tradition,⁸³ and which must be separated out into individual strands. Fifthly, the development of a rapport between Alexandria and Antioch due to a shared anti-Chalcedonian stance led in the seventh to eighth centuries (the height of Coptic hagiographical production) to the development of

78. So in the *Pratum spirituale* John Moschus records a story about John Chrysostom that he claims to have heard from Abba Athanasius, who in turn heard it from the great-nephew of Adelphius, whose sister is said to have played host to John in exile (*Pratum* sp. 128; PG 87, 2992-93). Quite apart from the difficulty of identifying Adelphius as bishop of Arabissus in 406 (we know from John Chrys., Ep. 126 [PG 52, 685-87]), that the bishop at the time was Otreius, we are asked to accept that the span of three generations is consistent with the passage of 200 years.

79. See Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne* I, pp. 101-108.

80. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne* I, p. 108, finds similarities in the language of the *Vita* and that of the *Pratum spirituale*, which received its final form in the first decades of the seventh century.

81. On the differences between the three recensions see Robert Doran, *The Lives of Symeon Stylites* (Cistercian Studies Series 112; Kalamazoo, MI, 1992), pp. 36-65.

82. See Part One, Symeon Stylites the Elder, *Martyrium* of, pp. 105-106.

83. See Pierre Petitmengin, Matei Cazacu, François Dolbeau, Bernard Flusin, Antoine Guillaumont, François Gillaumont, Louis Leloir, Carlos Lévy, Jean-Pierre Rothschild, Jean-Yves Tilliette, and Michel van Esbroeck (eds.), *Pélagie la pénitente. Métamorphoses d'une légende. Les textes et leur histoire* vol. 1, (Paris, 1981), pp. 13-18; Johan Leemans, Wendy Mayer, Pauline Allen, and Boudewijn Dehandschutter, 'Let us Die That We May Live': Greek Homilies on Christian Martyrs from Asia Minor, Palestine and Syria (c. 350-c. 450 AD) (London-New York, 2003), pp. 148-49.

the 'legend of Antioch'.⁸⁴ In Egyptian circles the introduction into a saint's life of a connection to Antioch became a means of increasing that saint's prestige.⁸⁵ Setting events at Antioch under the rule of Diocletian is a characteristic of this cycle of Coptic hagiography that both magnifies the saint's confession and lends historical verisimilitude. A case in point is the cluster of panegyrics associated with St Victor, a saint otherwise unrecognized in Syria, but much celebrated in Egypt. In these panegyrics both the setting of events at Antioch and pseudonymous attribution to authors such as Celestine, bishop of Rome, and John Chrysostom lends authenticity and prestige to the legend,⁸⁶ but the late date of these texts (late seventh or late eighth century) suggests, as in the case of the legend of Mar Qardagh, that they should be approached for what they have to say about the period at which they were written, rather than for historical data about the period which they purport to describe.⁸⁷ For these and many other reasons hagiographies are a mine-field that one sifts for historical data with extreme caution.

EXCLUDED SOURCES

In the past, two topographical borders (one textile, the other mosaic) have been identified as containing depictions of churches from Antioch. Because pictorial records of the churches are rare, this identification has exerted some influence. Reappraisal of these sources, however, shows that the identity attributed to the buildings is doubtful and the evidence is unlikely to be of relevance to our enquiry.

The first of the two topographical borders constitutes part of the Yakto mosaic, an analysis of which was first published by Jean Lassus in 1934.⁸⁸

84. See Arietta Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic', in Stephanos Efthymiadis (ed.), *Companion to Byzantine Hagiography 1* (Farnham), forthcoming.

85. See Arietta Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abassides. L'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001), pp. 32-33.

86. Attributing authorship to Severus of Antioch is another popular tactic among the authors of these legends. See Arietta Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic'.

87. See Arietta Papaconstantinou, 'Antioche ou l'Égypte? Quelques considérations sur l'origine du Danielstoff', *Cahiers archéologiques* 48 (2000), pp. 5-10 at p. 6. To nuance this further, Papaconstantinou suspects that the Antioch cycle is to be explained as the product of one side of a split in the anti-Chalcedonian faction in Egypt, that is, the side that embraced Severus of Antioch (conversation at Dumbarton Oaks, 22 November 2006). For the context in which this occurs and in which the *Épiphaneia* and *Épiphany* hagiography at this time is to be situated see Arietta Papaconstantinou, 'The Making of the Coptic Church: the Making of the Coptic Church', *DOP* 60 (2006), pp. 65-86.

88. Lassus, 'La mosaïque de Yakto', *Revue de l'Égyptologie* 10 (1934), p. 36.

The mosaic, which was discovered in a villa at Daphne, is dated to the second half of the fifth century on the basis of a reference to Ardaburius, *magister militum per orientem* 453-66 CE.⁸⁹ As one moves around the border one comes to a building bracketed on one side by an *orans* figure, on the other by a circular outdoor enclosure containing a rider and horse (fig. 6).⁹⁰ The structure of the building was interpreted by Lassus as polygonal, preceded by a portico, and concluded by a stylobate with two white columns supporting an architrave.⁹¹ On the polygonal building or section thereof portion of a white cupola can also be seen. Despite the presence of the partial inscription [...]PIANA on the roof and the colour of the cupola (white, not gold), the combination of cupola, polygonal walls and the *orans* figure, which to Lassus suggested a religious building, persuaded him to identify the complex as the Great Church at Antioch.⁹² Eltester adopted this identification and gave it (and the mosaic) prominence in his 1937 survey of the fourth-century churches of Antioch.⁹³ A decade later, however, Doro Levi dismissed this claim, pointing out a series of elements in the iconography that speak against it. The most significant is that the only structures in the border that can be identified with certainty are all located at Daphne and there is nothing to indicate that the viewer ever leaves the confines of Daphne and progresses into the centre of Antioch.⁹⁴ Also of importance is acknowledgement that the *orans* figure does not necessarily indicate a religious building, and Levi concludes that it is illegitimate to assign a religious character to the complex of buildings, given the scarcity of the evidence.⁹⁵ It is in any case significant that a clear label of the kind

89. Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, p. 323. For the date of Ardaburius' command of the eastern front see PLRE 2, pp. 135-37 s.v. Ardaburius 1.

90. Lassus, 'La mosaïque', p. 145, fig. 22; Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 2, pl. LXIII.c.

91. Lassus, 'La mosaïque', p. 144.

92. Lassus, 'La mosaïque', p. 145.

93. Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 252-54.

94. Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, p. 326. See, contra Levi, Grégoire Poccardi, 'Antioche de Syrie. Pour un nouveau plan urbain de l'île de l'Oronte (ville neuve) du III^e au V^e siècle', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 106 (1994), pp. 1006-1007, who identifies two bridges (one complete, one partial), which to him indicates that the gaze of the viewer has passed down to the river Orontes and the island in it. Catherine Saliou, 'À propos de la ταυριακή πόλη: remarques sur la localisation présumée de la grande église d'Antioche de Syrie', *Syria* 77 (2000), pp. 217-26 at p. 223, agrees that the two are bridges over the Orontes, but denies that the section of mosaic that lies between them necessarily indicates the island in the Orontes. She argues that the bridges do not necessarily require that the viewer mentally crosses them, but may indicate simply proximity of buildings to the river and the importance of the river and its bridges to the urban environment.

95. Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, pp. 332-33.

attached to other buildings in the topographical border (e.g., TO OAYMIIAKON, TO ΔΗΜΟCΙΝ, Ο ΠΕΡΙΠΛΑΤΟC)⁹⁶ is lacking in this instance, while there is in fact insufficient damage to the mosaic above the building to the left of the polygonal structure within the complex to allow for any letters to precede ΠΙΑΝΑ, which should therefore be read as complete.⁹⁷ There is sufficient damage to the mosaic directly above the polygonal building and the *orans* figure to have allowed for an inscription, but as each of the fully extant labels aligns with the left limit of each building one cannot expect to see the trace of the base of the initial letters in the existing mosaic to the left of the building.⁹⁸ Whether an inscription existed or did not exist is thus purely speculative and interpretation should thus rest on the existing evidence, which remains inconclusive.⁹⁹ It is important to note, however, that in 1961 Downey persisted in the belief that the polygonal building depicted in the border of the Yakto mosaic is to be identified as the Great Church.¹⁰⁰ The catalogue to the recent Worcester Art Museum exhibition on Antioch also persists in identifying it as 'the octagonal church of Constantine'.¹⁰¹

The second topographical border is preserved on the Berlin Daniel textile, a piece of red linen of Egyptian provenance, in which a central panel depicting Daniel and two lions is bordered at the top and bottom by panels of uniformly depicted churches.¹⁰² In these borders it is the names of the buildings, rather than the stereotypically represented buildings themselves, that have excited attention and led to the attribution of the churches to Antioch. No date for the textile is offered by the original editor, Strzygowski,¹⁰³ although, given the Egyptian provenance, it is to

96. See Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 2, pl. LXXIX.a-b.

97. Following Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', Poccardi, 'Antioche de Syrie', pp. 1006-1007 and p. 1013, assumes that the letters *ποτα ταυ* are missing. They would, however, have to have been located in a second line above the letters ΠΙΑΝΑ. All of the other labels associated with buildings in the mosaic occupy a single line.

98. See Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 2, pl. LXXX.c.

99. Saliou, 'La location présumée', pp. 224-25, points out the existence of a partial black line of *tesserae* above the letters ΠΙΑΝΑ, which makes it difficult to imagine what letters could have been located above, even if there were sufficient room.

100. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 661 ('presumably'). Downey's analysis of the Yakto mosaic is derived directly from Lassus, 'La mosaïque', and shows no awareness of the work of Levi, *Mosaic Pavements*.

101. Kondoleon, *Antioch*, p. 115. See also Poccardi, 'Antioche de Syrie', pp. 1009-1012.

102. See Pierre-Louis Gatier, 'Un témoignage sur les églises d'Antioche', *Syria* 65 (1988), pp. 384-85 (figs. 1-3).

103. Jozef Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom. Beiträge zur Geschichte des spätantiken und frühchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1901), (Berlin: Haderer, 1967), 100-101. Schrenk, 'Die "topographischen" Friese auf den Daniel- und Petrus-Stoffen', in Manfred Hutter, *Wäandlen Klein- und Grossantiken* (eds.), *Hairesis. Festschrift für Karl Hoyer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Münster i.W., 2002), pp. 72-83 at p. 73, notes, however, that the majority of the textiles associated with the Daniel fragment have been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, although a date of fourth-seventh centuries has also been put forward.

be noted that the inscriptions on the textile are in Greek and not in Coptic. Among the names thought to be preserved on the textile fragment (now considerably faded) are a Great Church and martyria dedicated to Sts Michael, Stephen, Susanna and Acacius.¹⁰⁴ An additional two fragmentary names were restored by Gatier as reading [Vic]tor and Ker[ataion].¹⁰⁵ While Gatier acknowledged that many cities had a Great Church and martyria dedicated to Michael and Stephen, comparison with the border of the Yakto mosaic¹⁰⁶ and restoration of these last two names were considered by him to be decisive factors.¹⁰⁷ After situating the churches at Antioch, the presence in the border of a martyrium of St Michael provided a *terminus post quem* that enabled Gatier to fix the date of the textile as late fifth or sixth century.¹⁰⁸ Gatier's identification of the churches in the border as Antiochene, however, relies exclusively on a speculative restoration of labels too fragmentary to offer certainty. The evidence he adduces for the existence of a church dedicated to St Victor at Antioch at this period, moreover, is questionable, being mostly late, Coptic and most likely the product of a local Egyptian desire to garner (anti-Chalcedonian) prestige for the saint.¹⁰⁹ More recently, and independently of each other, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Sabine Schrenk and Markus Stein have dismissed Gatier's attribution, showing in detail how there is no necessity to locate either the city of production or the location depicted in the border outside of Egypt.¹¹⁰ Stein points out that [...]τοπος can as convincingly be restored as Nestor or Castor as Victor and that the initial letters read by Gatier as κε[ρ...] are insufficiently distinct for confident identification.¹¹¹ Papaconstantinou finds that the

2002), pp. 72-83 at p. 73, notes, however, that the majority of the textiles associated with the Daniel fragment have been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, although a date of fourth-seventh centuries has also been put forward.

104. Gatier, 'Un témoignage', p. 385, who notes that Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, agreed that Acacius could equally be read as Akanos (only the first three letters are preserved).

105. Gatier, 'Un témoignage', pp. 386-87.

106. The comparison was first made by Henri Seyrig, one of the directors of the 1920s excavations at Antioch: 'Notes archéologiques. 2. Sur le style de la mosaïque de Yakto', *Berytus* 2 (1935), pp. 44-47. For a detailed outline of the history of approaches to the Daniel textile see Papaconstantinou, 'Antioche ou l'Égypte?', pp. 5-6; Schrenk, 'Die "topographischen" Friese', pp. 75-78.

107. Gatier, 'Un témoignage', pp. 386-87.

108. Gatier, 'Un témoignage', p. 388.

109. Papaconstantinou, 'Antioche ou l'Égypte?', p. 6.

110. Papaconstantinou, 'Antioche ou l'Égypte?'; Schrenk, 'Die "topographischen" Friese'; Markus Stein, 'Die Inschriften auf dem Daniel- und Petrus-Stoff in Berlin', in Hutter et al. (eds.), *Hairesis*, pp. 84-98.

111. Stein, 'Die Inschriften', pp. 89-90. Even the reading *Ακάκιος* is doubtful, since only the first three letters can be read with any certainty (Stein, 'Die Inschriften', p. 91).

latter in fact reads more convincingly as either $\chi\epsilon\rho[\dots]$ or $\chi\epsilon\gamma[\dots]$.¹¹² Schrenk and Stein both point out that, even if one accepts Gatiér's restorations, a district called Kerataion can be found in Arsinoë, just as none of the churches and martyria is in reality exclusive to Antioch and can certainly all be located in Egypt.¹¹³ Schrenk argues further that there is no necessity that the churches depicted stem from a single location (either city or region) and speculates that the border might instead utilize disparate widely recognized churches to indicate the plurality and size of the Christian world.¹¹⁴ In sum, the textile is Egyptian in origin and either one should seek an Egyptian provenance for the churches and martyria depicted in the border or one should dismiss the idea that they are intended to represent a single location. Even if the second scenario (Schrenk's) is accepted, because of the common nature of the names it is impossible to locate exclusively at Antioch any building depicted in the border.

In addition to these two topographical borders, for the reasons discussed above legends from cycles within Coptic hagiography that purport to situate martyria or shrines of Egyptian saints at Antioch are dismissed. Of the martyrs of the Basilides cycle—Basilides, Anatolius the Persian, Eusebius, Macarius, Justus, Theodore the Oriental, Apater and Herai, Claudius and Victor—who are all situated at Antioch under Diocletian,¹¹⁵ the legendary material concerning Victor in particular mentions a shrine or church at Antioch dedicated to him.¹¹⁶ A cult of

112. Papaconstantinou, 'Antioche ou l'Égypte?', p. 6.

113. Schrenk, 'Die "topographischen" Friese', p. 78. Stein, 'Die Inschriften', p. 98, points out that in Oxyrhynchos and vicinity, for example, there existed a Great Church, Churches of Michael and Victor, and martyria of Acacius and Susanna. Papaconstantinou, 'Antioche ou l'Égypte?', p. 8, also points out that churches of Victor, Stephen and Michael existed at Arsinoë, and argues that the cult of Victor was particularly prevalent in Egypt.

114. Schrenk, 'Die "topographischen" Friese', p. 81.

115. See Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic'. For Anatolius the Persian: see BHO 12; Eusebius: BHO 292; Macarius: BHO 578; Justus: Eric O. Winstedt, *Coptic Texts on Saint Theodore the General, Saint Theodore the Eastern, Chamoul and Justus* (London–Oxford, 1910), pp. 188–99, 211–21; Theodore the Oriental: BHO 1174; Apater and Herai: BHO 73; Claudius: BHO 195; Victor: E. A. Wallis Budge (ed. and trans.), *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1914), pp. 1–45, 253–98.

116. See E. A. Wallis Budge, (ed.), *The Book of Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margā A.D. 840*, 2 vols (London, 1893), pp. 63, 316; and *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite* (27 Hatour), PO 3/3, pp. 345–48. A similar claim is made for Claudius, leading Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 279, mistakenly to the conclusion that the saints of Antioch on the basis of a ps-Severan homily, which is part of the *Homilies of Severus of Soler, Le Sacré et le salut à Antioche au IV^e siècle apr. J.-C.* *Épîtres de Severus de Soler, Les saints religieux dans le processus de christianisation de la ville d'Antioche, le sud-est syrien, le sud-est syrien, le sud-est syrien*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. 100 (Paris, 1980), p. 100. Maraval adopts

Victor is otherwise unattested in Syria, but is prominent in Egypt.¹¹⁷ It is there and for the period that they were composed (seventh to eighth centuries), not Antioch during the period under investigation here, that these legends have relevance.

The existence of a church dedicated to the martyr Zacchaeus, built at Antioch in 434 CE, was adduced by Downey on the basis of a comment by Assemani in the introduction to his edition of the Syriac account of the martyrdom of Alphaeus, Zacchaeus and Romanus.¹¹⁸ The source of Assemani's assertion is unclear, but may be based on a western liturgical calendar. Neither the Syriac life of Zacchaeus and Alphaeus, nor the entry concerning them in Eusebius' *De martyribus Palaestinae*, however, connects either martyr to Antioch, although Romanus is explicitly linked to the city.¹¹⁹ Both martyrs are in fact firmly associated with Palestine. That a cult of Zacchaeus was based at Antioch in the fifth century is thus unlikely.

Dubious also is the attribution of a cult of Thecla to Seleucia Pieria. Downey and Campbell both speculated that the 'martyrium' in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria was dedicated to her,¹²⁰ an idea perpetuated by St Clair.¹²¹ The attribution is based on a false identification.¹²² The Seleucia where her cult originated is on the contrary a town in Isauria, some 100 km south-east of Iconium and 50 km south-west of Tarsus.¹²³ It is there

Maraval's attribution of Claudius to Antioch, leading him misguidedly to suggest that Claudius' relics may have been among those celebrated by John Chrysostom in his homily *In martyres aegyptios*. Frédéric Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 152, despite noting the doubtful attribution to Severus, perpetuates this error.

117. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints*, pp. 62–67.

118. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 659; Assemani 2, p. 173.

119. Euseb., *De mart. Palest.* 1.5–2.5 (ed. Schwartz and Mommsen); Stephanus E. Assemani (ed.), *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium* 2 (Rome, 1748), pp. 177–81.

120. See Part One, Church 4. In Seleucia Pieria, pp. 58–64. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 507; Campbell, field notes in Field Book–Seleucia: Martyrion, Antioch Archive, Princeton.

121. In Slobodan Ćurčić and Archer St Clair (eds.), *Byzantium at Princeton. Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University*. Catalogue of an exhibition at Firestone Library, Princeton University August 1 through October 26, 1986 (Princeton, 1986), pp. 49–50 (16. Fragment of disc with St. Thekla).

122. First recognized by W. Eugene Kleinbauer, 'The Origin and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia', *DOP* 27 (1973), p. 92. Severus of Antioch (512–18) attests to the celebration of the feast day of Thecla in a martyrium at Antioch in the early sixth century, but it is important to note that there was no church there dedicated to her and that the festival is in fact celebrated in a martyrium dedicated to St Stephen due to their association as two of the first martyrs (see Part One, Stephen, Protomartyr, Martyrium of, p. 104).

123. See Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 36–80.

that the emperor Zeno (474-91) built a church,¹²⁴ and it is most probably in that church that Palladius, elected bishop of Antioch c. 490, had served as presbyter.¹²⁵ The identification of an image carved on a stone disk of Antiochene provenance (dated fifth–sixth centuries) as St Thecla is based entirely on the belief that Seleucia Pieria was the site of her cult.¹²⁶ Without it, there is little that permits identification. Only half of the disk survives and the side on which the figure is carved has sustained further damage. The left arm of an orant figure is clearly depicted. The gender of the figure and the identity of the animal that can be seen in faint outline below the figure, on the other hand, are both open to question.

APPROACH

As already indicated above, our interest in the churches of Antioch is twofold. Firstly, our intention is to provide a compendium of all of the data relating to such sites (Part One). This is assembled in alphabetical order under the main title by which a worship site is known. In some cases more than one name was attached to the building over the period of our survey. In these instances cross-references are supplied to the main entry. An abbreviated bibliography of sources is supplied at the end of each entry. Since not all data are sufficiently concrete to be able to be attributed to a specific church, to the end of the compendium is attached an additional listing of non-specific data. A third list contains data about churches whose identity is in some way doubtful, but about which the data in future may, if corroborating evidence comes to light, prove to be

124. Evagrius, *HE* 3.8 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 107-108; trans. Whitby, p. 142).

125. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5983, AD 490/91 (De Boor, p. 135; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 208).

126. St Clair, in *Byzantium at Princeton*, re Princeton Art Museum, Antioch 5464 s303.

127. Although we discuss the architectural layout of churches in relation to their liturgical organization, we avoid discussion of their decorative programs. In only one church (the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria) do remnants of decorative features other than mosaic paving survive, whereas the mosaic pavements of the three excavated churches have been analyzed by other scholars at length. Readers interested in this aspect are referred to Levi, *Mosaic Pavements*; Campbell, *The Mosaic of Antioch*; Pauline Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie*, 2 vols (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1986); Jan, *Byzantine Mosaic*; 'Zur Ikonographie und Datierung der Champlevé-Reliefs' in *Actes du III^e Internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn, 22-28 September 1990*, *Ergänzungsband* 20, 2; Münster, 1995) 2, pp. 718-22 and 'Some Early Christian Mosaic Decoration of the Church Building at Seleucia Pieria: An Excavation and a New Interpretation', *Antioch*, pp. 107-124.

accurate. Some analysis of the data is entered into in Part One, but is restricted to discussion of how the various sources relate to one another or comment regarding methodological issues of relevance to a particular source.

Secondly, the nature of the data assembled in Part One prompts us to complement our survey with an analysis of the data from two angles. The first perspective (Part Two) is that of the political and social forces that played a role in the construction and transformation of buildings and sites. Here we are particularly interested in additions and alterations over time and the motivation for constructing certain churches in the first instance. In this section, the influence of economic, politico-religious and environmental factors will also be given consideration. The second angle from which we examine the churches (Part Three) is that of their use and function. We examine the issue from both broad and narrow perspectives: the role of churches in relation to one another and the urban and suburban environment, and how an individual church was utilized.¹²⁷ Part One is, in as far as possible, strictly factual. In Parts Two and Three we employ a degree of speculation to compensate for the bias of the sources and the substantial gaps in the data.

In selecting the illustrations that accompany the text we have attempted to be as thorough as possible. Only two of the four churches excavated to any degree in the 1930s were published in the five volumes of *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. In consequence we publish here the majority of the photographs taken at the time, with the exception of the decorative program in the church in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria. The mosaic floor was badly damaged, while the fragments of champlévé- and bas-relief work found at the site were numerous. What we publish here is a representative selection.

PART ONE

CATALOGUE OF CHURCHES

The following catalogue of data concerning the churches of Syrian Antioch is divided into three parts. The first section contains a record of data concerning identifiable churches or worship sites organized alphabetically by name. In cases where a church or site was known by more than one label, the entry appears under the most common name. Alternative labels also appear in the catalogue and refer the reader to the name under which the entry for the church is found. The second section records data that cannot be attributed reliably to a specific church, but which are nonetheless useful. It is divided into two subsections: data about the interior of churches, and data about church buildings. The third section is titled: *Dubia*. The specific buildings and the data from Socrates that are listed there are kept separate from the list in the first section either because the data are unverifiable, because there is some doubt as to whether the site is actually a church or associated with a church, or because there is some doubt about the veracity of the source/s. In recording the information for the entries in all three sections we have tried to be as factual as possible, interpreting the sources only to the degree necessary to make sense of the data. Each entry is followed by a list of the primary sources and bibliography of the chief secondary literature in which the church is discussed. At the conclusion to Part One we provide two summaries: the first is a list of the identified churches organized topographically, in so far as can be determined; in the second significant events related to the churches are listed chronologically, grouped together under the name of the emperor under whose administration each occurred.

IDENTIFIABLE CHURCHES

Apostolic Church

see Palaia

Babylas, St. Church of

Location, plan and construction

The church discovered in 1934 near the road to the village of Qausiyeh is situated on a plain on the right bank of the Orontes at the north-east corner of Antioch's military exercise ground (*campus martius*) (fig. 4). It lies roughly opposite the lower end of the island on which the imperial palace was built. Lassus was impressed by its location and, believing that it stood in isolation in Late Antiquity rather than being enclosed by a suburb, and that a bridge between the church and island most likely existed at that point, stated that the site gave the impression of being a gate both to the city and to the countryside (fig. 7).¹

The excavations of 1935 uncovered a cruciform church with arms of equal size, oriented more or less according to the points of the compass. Each arm is approximately 25 m × 11 m and the central body is 16 m × 16 m (fig. 8). In each of three inscriptions that form part of the mosaic paving of the north, west and south arms these sections of the building are described as *exedrae* or halls (see *Decorative Program*, Inscriptions 1, 3 and 4). According to the inscription in the north *exedra*, the paving of those arms was completed in 387 CE. Additions thought to date from different periods were also uncovered (fig. 9). In the corner between the north and east arms of the church were located a baptistery (2) with annexe (9-10) and a room identified as a *pistikon* (3) (figs. 10-11). An inscription set into the mosaic pavement of the *pistikon* indicates that 'this work' and the paving took place under bishop Theodotus (424-28), that is, during the third decade of the fifth century (see Inscription 5, below). In the corner between the east and south arms were located three rooms (13-15) (figs. 12-13). The remainder of the east arm was bracketed by long rooms (8 and 11) on both the northern and southern sides, identified by Lassus as porticoes (on the north side the 'portico' abutted the

1. Jean Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme découverte à Qausiyeh, à l'est d'Antioch-sur-Orontes 2', p. 5. Regarding the building that 'probably' was a suburb, see Introduction, p. 9 n. 26.

pistikon) (figs. 14-15). The south arm was bracketed by a structure to the west (16) (fig. 16), that cannot be identified with any certainty,² and by rooms to the east (18 and 19) (fig. 17).³ A portico was located at the end of the west arm (21), where evidence of the threshold of a door survives (fig. 18). There was no evidence of subsidiary chapels, and Lassus stresses that although the east arm was bracketed by a portico on each side, there is nothing to indicate that that section of the church was ever converted into a three-aisled basilica. Since the porticoes are not integral to the building's structure and are more poorly constructed than the cruciform church, they are thought to be a later addition. Identification of the various rooms or porticoes was made on the basis of foundations and floors, since very little else was recovered.

The openings onto the central chamber from the four arms measure between 7.6 and 7.9 m and the foundations suggest that they were bracketed by arches in the form of a tetrapylon (fig. 19). There is evidence that at least the eastern arch was at one time closed off by a balustrade.⁴ Robust pillars formed the angles of the room, which Lassus speculates supported a pyramidal roof of timber and tile, rather than a cupola. A U-shaped *bema* situated along the east-west axis of the chamber occupied a large portion of the room (fig. 20), its semicircular end to the west. Tombs were uncovered in each of the north-east and north-west corners of the room, oriented east-west. That of the north-west corner was cut from a block of stone and set into the foundations in such a way that its lid would have been flush with the pavement. That particular tomb (2.25 m long × 1.13 m wide × 1.05 m deep at the exterior; 1.95 m × 95 cm × 82 cm at the interior) is distinct from the other tombs discovered in the church in that 43 cm from the bottom a ledge 4 cm in width at the ends and 7 cm on the sides encircled it, providing the means for dividing the

2. Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 23, says that it is 'most probably' a portico, but goes on to express surprise at the lack of a portico at the southern end of the south arm and that the only apparent means of entry to this arm lay to the west.

3. Two rooms on the original field drawing are labelled '10', while there is no '19'. The second of these (to the south of Room 18) is labelled 19 in the discussion by Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 27, and is thus labelled 19 by us in fig. 9.

4. Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 9, is unclear as to whether he found the seating for a balustrade in all four arches of the central chamber or only in a single block from the southern portion of the chamber's eastern face. He proceeds on the understanding that a balustrade closed off all four arches of the central chamber. Tchalenko interprets this as a solid chancel barrier with an opening in the middle of each of the four sides that was presumably allowed for access to the central chamber and *bema* by the clergy: Tchalenko, *Villages antiques* 1, p. 341; idem, *Eglises syriennes*, p. 219. For our argument, contra Lassus and Tchalenko, that only the eastern arch was closed off by a partial barrier see Part Three, pp. 208-13.

tomb into two compartments of sufficient height each for a body, one below the other. Three notches in each of the side ledges allowed for the placement of beams across the tomb, which most likely supported a dividing panel, probably also of timber (fig. 21). The tomb in the north-east corner is more similar to other tombs found in the building, in that it is constructed of brick. Its depth could not be determined, but its interior measurements were 1.99 m long \times 69 cm wide (26 cm narrower than its partner) (fig. 22). Lassus believed that it would have been set below the pavement, covered with flagstones, and the floor then repaved in mosaic to match.

Two additional tombs were discovered in the north arm of the building (fig. 23): one in the south-west corner of the north arm of the building, likewise oriented east-west, not far from the arch that divided the central chamber and its two northerly-located tombs from the southern end of the north arm (fig. 24); the second oriented north-south and located against the eastern wall of the north arm at a point where the wall adjoined the baptistery.⁵ Both tombs, of brick, showed evidence of having been dug after the mosaic had been laid and the second tomb was set more than a metre below the pavement. The first (2.10 m \times 66 cm \times 68 cm) was set 89 cm below the pavement and the few limestone flagstones that remained indicated that no attempt was made to duplicate the mosaic pattern that had been interrupted. Rather, part of a black line on a white background was found, which Lassus speculated may have framed an inscription. At least seven tombs of brick construction and east-west orientation were found in the floor of the west arm of the building (fig. 23): two parallel tombs located in the south-east corner near the central chamber; three along the south wall (two parallel and close to the south-west corner, one abutting the wall and closer to the middle); two slightly staggered in the north-west corner, with an eighth tomb oriented parallel to them but located at the exterior of the north wall (fig. 25). The bricks of the best preserved of the latter three (the middle tomb set into the north-west corner of the western arm: 96 cm \times 53 cm \times 83 cm) were lined with a bed of cement and the tomb covered by a series of long flagstones (83 cm \times 25 cm \times 15 cm deep). Although no traces were found, Lassus speculated that the flagstones had been recovered with mosaic to match the surrounding paving. Inside the tomb fragments of

5. The photographs from the excavation indicate that the tomb outside the west wall of the north arm (fig. 24) has been an independent tomb on the field drawing or mention in the published report. The tomb is located in Trench 1 (fig. 57).

inscribed marble were found, one containing the letters ka[.], another the letters ka[...] / avro+. The tomb next to it (1.93 m \times 63 cm \times 68 cm), similarly constructed of brick lined with cement, was sealed by a single stone slab. The rubble of the tombs aligned along the south wall of the west arm contained, among other items: part of the trunk of a column in white marble (8.5 cm diam. at the base); a fragment of stone slab with fretwork, thought to be from a window; and the corner of a white marble basin with a richly moulded profile. Two further tombs (2.14 m \times 51-64 cm \times 75 cm), oriented north-south, were discovered in the south arm of the building set in from the south-east corner and set slightly out from the east wall (fig. 26). Both are of brick and cement construction. No evidence of how they were covered survives.

The east arm of the building distinguishes itself from the other three arms in a number of ways. It is bracketed entirely by rooms or porticoes; the floor level is lower (20 cm below the north and south arms and 52 cm below the west arm); and the character of the mosaic paving in this section of the building is different (see discussion below). Tombs (at least five or six in number) lined the entire length of the east end of the arm, some oriented east-west, others north-south (fig. 27). Like the majority of the others these tombs are of brick and are later additions. An entryway was situated in the middle of the south wall of the east arm, which was later preceded by a 'portico'.⁶ No evidence of a door was found in the end of the east arm.

The exterior rooms and 'porticoes' all represent modifications to the original plan of the building and are thought to have been added on at different times, in response to changes in the role or function of the church. An examination of the plumbing may assist in distinguishing a number of different phases. Evidence of ceramic pipes was found near the baptistery-pistikon suite in the north-east angle of the church, the bottom end of the structure to the west of the south arm, along the end of the north arm and along the portico at the end of the west arm. One set of pipes appears to have wrapped around the end of the east arm where they then turned south-west towards the end of the south arm (fig. 28). The way in which the piping wraps around the corner of the suite of rooms in the north-east angle might suggest that this set of plumbing is contemporary with or subsequent to the addition of those

6. Lassus' interpretation. It is more likely, when the liturgical orientation and function of the church is taken into consideration, that the later addition was an enclosed room used for some purpose by the clergy of the church. See our argument in Part Three, Liturgical Organization and Corporate Use, p. 211.

rooms, were it not for horizontal pipes connected to the remnants of the vertical pipes set into the northern wall of the northern portico of the east arm at the western end (room 8) and of the north-east corner of the *pistikon* (room 3) (figs. 29, 14). The initial section of the pipe that extended from this latter point was subsequently buried beneath room 9. This suggests that rooms 9 and 10 were added after the completion of rooms 3 and 8,⁷ and that this first phase of plumbing was installed to contain the flow of rainwater from the roof. In rooms 9 and 10 evidence of two channels was found: one leading from the baptistery pool toward and under the east wall of room 9; the other evacuating waste water from room 10.⁸

Lassus explains this first system as assisting in the dispersal of water from the roof and proposes that rooms 13, 14 and the annex to room 15 at the south-east angle of the church played a role in this rainwater collection and evacuation system.⁹ There are a number of reasons why this interpretation is problematic. The individual segments of ceramic pipe are cemented together, a technique that suggests that they were intended to carry pressurized water (that is, water into a building), rather than waste. Ceramic piping was expensive and the conveyance of rainwater from roofs at this period was in any case more commonly directed toward the collection of run-off in large underground cisterns for future use. No cisterns were found, and even Lassus admits that it is strange that there is no well associated with the reservoir he thinks was housed in room 14.¹⁰ His other explanation is that the system of pipes was intended to drain the run-off from the roof away from the building to

7. This supposition is complicated by the discovery that the floor flanking the font in room 9 was superimposed over an earlier floor, although this can be explained as having occurred at a later stage even than the construction of these rooms, which may indicate at least three phases of work on this side of the building. If we take rooms 2, 3 and 8 as a functional unit and understand the 'work' referred to in the inscription of room 3 as this unit as a whole, then the baptistery complex and at least part of the first phase of plumbing date to the third decade of the fifth century. Note that on stylistic grounds Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 46, prefers to date the baptistery pavement to around the same time as that of the north arm (387 CE), which would mean that room 2 and the initial phase of work on rooms 9-10 were part of the original construction. The plumbing seems to speak against this.

8. From the size of the channel Lassus, *L'église cruciforme*, p. 32, speculates that room 10 functioned as a latrine, but this is unlikely as the east arm of the church is where the main activity appears to be concentrated and latrines were usually located at the back of such complexes away from the main traffic areas (I am indebted to Alan Walsley for this advice). It would be more reasonable to interpret a structure such as room 16 (located exterior to the west wall of the south arm and constructed with the same care) in this manner. No evidence of waste water drains was discovered in that section, however, and the structure evidently had some other purpose.

9. Lassus, *L'église cruciforme*, p. 25.

10. Lassus, *L'église cruciforme*, p. 27.

prevent flooding. A consideration that speaks against the usage of rooms 13-14 and 20 as part of the system is that the stone drains that flow from rooms 13 and 14 and the pipe attached to room 20 all appear to be posterior to this primary rainwater collection system. As we will see, the addition of the pipe to room 20 and the stone drains to rooms 13-14 appear in fact to have cut across this older system and disabled it.

The mess of pipes buried under floors, pipes cutting across disconnected pipes, and stone drains found in the south-east angle of the building is more difficult to interpret.¹¹ As the pipe that flowed around the end of the east arm (phase 1) crosses the south-east angle of the building, it is laid beneath what Lassus believes to have been the floor and wall of a courtyard. A second pipe which begins at the north-east corner of the 'courtyard' wall wraps around the outside of that wall and parallels the first pipe, angling towards it as they both near the south-east corner of the south arm (figs. 30-32). It is uncertain whether this 'courtyard' was built at the same time as rooms 11 and 13-15 or whether it and its plumbing were added subsequently. A pipe that bends around the interior of the south-east angle close to the walls of rooms 11 and 13-15 does not belong to the first phase of plumbing, since it is laid over the top of the drain from phase 3 described below (fig. 33). A pipe was subsequently laid over the two pipes from the east end of the church as they neared the eastern corner of the south arm (fig. 17). A new pipe was also laid from the south-east which cut across those two pipes and connected to what Lassus identifies as room 20. It is most likely that at this point plumbing was being introduced for a purpose other than drainage or conservation of rainwater from the roof and one possible interpretation is that this pipe was built to introduce water to the building from the river.¹² It is equally possible that 'room' 20 (1.65 m × 2.3 m) was in fact

11. Lassus himself clearly considered this complex. His field notes include several pages of detailed notes regarding the plumbing of this sector and a pencilled diagram listing all of the separate elements.

12. The pipe comes more or less from the direction of the Orontes and appears to have continued through the south-east corner of the courtyard (that the pipe appears to have been cut off by this wall in Lassus, *L'église cruciforme*, p. 128, fig. 27, may be an artefact of the excavation rather than construction). The use of water-wheel technology along the Orontes can be demonstrated by a mosaic from nearby Apamea dating from 469 CE. Such devices were still used along the Orontes in the first half of the twentieth century: John P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 185-86 and fig. 41. See also Jacques Leblanc and Grégoire Poccardi, *L'eau domestiquée et l'eau sauvage à Antioche-sur-l'Oronte: problèmes de gestion*, in Bernadette Cabouret, Pierre-Louis Gatier and Catherine Salou (eds.), *Antioch de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Topoi supplement 5; Lyon, 2004), pp. 244 and 253 fig. 8.

an exterior trough that supplied water for animals and for other purposes. At some point subsequent to the introduction of the pipe to 'room' 20 a flagstone-covered stone drain was dug in the south-east angle of the complex which connected in two places to room 13 and to which there may have been joined a section of pipe from room 14. This is of typical construction for the removal of waste water. From the site drawings, it appears that the introduction of the drain, which follows the exterior wall of 'room' 20 southwards and then angles shortly afterwards to the south-east, cut off the flow of water from the pipe and that at some stage a channel was introduced which flowed directly from 'room' 20 into the drain. At least one other section of drain was found in the floor of the courtyard, running in an east-west direction parallel to the southern side of the east arm.

Supporting evidence for locating this major drain within a later phase of alterations to the courtyard plumbing is perhaps supplied by a marble plaque employed in the construction of the section of drain that hugged the exterior wall of 'room' 20, which is inscribed: $\rho\upsilon\beta\eta\nu\ \delta\ \pi\ldots$ (fig. 34). Because of its location within a Christian building Lassus assumed that it read $\rho\upsilon\beta\eta\nu\ \pi[\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ (Ruben the priest).¹³ This led him to suppose that it constituted a fragment of a funeral plaque. Instead the Jewish name and the two letters that follow suggest a donor plaque of a type found on the walls of synagogues of this period—either $\rho\upsilon\beta\eta\nu\ \delta\ \pi[\alpha\rho\iota\eta\rho]$ (Ruben, the patron) or $\rho\upsilon\beta\eta\nu\ \delta\ \pi[\rho\epsilon\phi\acute{\upsilon}\tau\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ (Ruben, the elder).¹⁴ Its location here most likely indicates the re-use of building materials from another site and may point to a date for this phase of construction in the sixth century at a time after the destruction of synagogues began to take place at Antioch.¹⁵

Before any attempt is made at interpretation, it should be mentioned that room 13 (3.6 m x 3.7 m) contained a brick tub, situated along the eastern wall near the south-east corner (fig. 12). The floor of room 14 is sloped towards the south-east corner with a drop from the highest point to the lowest of 39 cm. A mechanism made of rows of stone leading to a short span of ceramic pipe that may have been associated with the

13. Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 44 (no. 11).

14. For examples of the latter see the marble fragments 52 and 75 in John H. Kroll, 'The Greek Inscriptions of the Sardis Synagogue', *HTR* 94 (2001), pp. 5–35, at pp. 38 and 46. For the roles of both *patres* and *presbyteroi* within the synagogue context see Lee pp. 429–34.

15. The first documented destruction of a synagogue in the eastern Mediterranean is in 507 CE. See Leontius, *St. Basilianus of Antioch*, trans. J. G. Ziegler (Leuven, 1997), p. 100.

drainage of water was found in the middle of the floor of room 14 (fig. 12). It is clear from the addition of rooms around the entire south-east angle of the building, the construction of a courtyard, and the multiple phases of plumbing that the south-east angle of the building saw the highest volume of activity and human (and animal?) traffic. It is possible that all six rooms along the south-east angle (10–11, 13–15, 18), 'room' 20 and the courtyard/s were constructed at the same time, but it is equally possible that rooms 11 and 13–15 were built first, then the courtyard/s and perhaps rooms 18 and 19, and finally 'room' 20 (that is, that in this part of the complex there were four progressive phases of additions).¹⁶ While there is no compelling evidence either way, the walls of rooms 18 and 19 are narrower in width than 14 and 15, which may suggest that they were added later.¹⁷ 'Room' 20, whether a trough or water storage of some kind, juts out into the courtyard and serves to divide rooms 18 and 19 somewhat from the courtyard space in front of room 11. One plausible explanation for the higher concentration of rooms and activity in the south-east angle and the greater number of changes to this part of the building over time is that this is where certain of the clergy had their quarters.¹⁸ The drainage added to rooms 13 and 14 in a later phase of plumbing may indicate that by that time these rooms were being used to generate income through an activity that produced a quantity of waste water. At the very least, we can expect that rooms 13–14 were used progressively for at least two different purposes.

One final point to be made is that the presence of mosaic pavement in rooms 8 and 11 is more indicative of fully enclosed rooms rather than porticoes. This is inconsistent with the interpretation of the door in the south-east of the eastern arm as an external entrance. As we will argue in Part Three, it is more likely that both were enclosed rooms attached

16. This interpretation of the sequence of events, it should be noted, contradicts that outlined by the Field Director in the season report for 1935. At pp. 38–39 he concludes that the pistikon, baptistery and rooms along the east wall of the south arm (possibly the apartments of the *paramonarios*, see n. 18) were added first; in a third phase the long paved halls on each side of the east arm and possibly the hall paved with marble attached to the west wall of the south arm; and in a fourth phase the portico located at the end of the west arm.

17. The additions to the north-east angle are all uniform.

18. The inscription in room 3 mentions a *paramonarios* (custodian or keeper). Those who held this office were responsible for the security of the church and lived on the premises: see Alexander P. Kazhdan et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* 3 (New York–London, 1991), p. 1739 s.v. 'Prosmomonarios'. In the later sixth century at Antioch certain bishops who wished to ordain furtively a candidate named Severus are said to have struck a deal with the *paramonarios* of the Church of Cassian, who unlocked the church for them in the dead of the night (John of Ephesus, *HE* 4.41).

for the purposes of storage by the clergy of sacred vessels and of the offering, among other activities. In regard to foot-traffic, Lassus notes as a point of interest that of the inscriptions of the west, south and north arms, those of the latter two were oriented so that they could be read by an audience facing the central chamber. The inscription of the west arm was set in the middle of the pavement of that *exedra* and oriented to be read as one moved from the central chamber to the door at the western end.¹⁹ In regard to other internal traffic, no definitive evidence was found. Lassus speculated that the *pistikon* (room 3) could be entered via the east arm, room 8 and the baptistery, but found no archaeological evidence to support this supposition.²⁰ That the inscription of the *pistikon* was oriented to be read as one moved from the *pistikon* into the baptistery, however, may support the presence of a door there. He further proposed that the baptistery could be entered via the north arm, where he located some slight evidence to support his hypothesis.²¹

In terms of the roof of the building, the presence of numerous tile fragments indicates that wooden framing covered in tile was used throughout. The roof of the central chamber most likely formed a pyramid.

Decorative program

Fragments of mosaic pavement were found in each of the four arms of the building (figs. 35-38), the baptistery complex (rooms 2, 3, 9-10) (figs. 11, 29) and rooms 8 (fig. 14) and 11 (fig. 15). All are geometric in pattern, with the exception of the west end of the east arm, where a border containing a remnant of three crosses was found at the threshold to the central chamber (fig. 39). In the floor of the central chamber fragments of marble *opus sectile* were found, composed of tangent octagons (fig. 39). The remains of marble paving were found in room 16 (fig. 16). The patterns that adorned the floor of each room are described and categorized in detail by Campbell, who provides comprehensive photographs, and Donceel-Voûte, who provides drawings of the restored pavement. While the patterning of all four arms is striking, that of the east arm is distinctive, with large wheels and grids set in squares, supporting the suspicion that the east arm was the focus of activity. To set the decorative program in context, we should note on the basis of the

19. Lassus, *L'église chrétienne*, p. 36, who notes that this orientation establishes the east-west axis as the main axis of the church.

20. Lassus, *L'église chrétienne*, pp. 37-38.

21. Lassus, *L'église chrétienne*, pp. 37-38.

remnants found that at least some of the tombs set into the floors of the four arms were covered by marble flagstones which interrupted the pattern of the original mosaic paving. In other cases, it is likely that the mosaic was cut into and then repaired after the tomb's installation. The Field Director's notes for 1935 mention that glass *tesserae* were found in numbers in the debris. This was interpreted as an indication that mosaics adorned the walls.²²

Inscriptions were found in the centre of the paving of the west arm, in the paving of the north and south arms where they abutted the central chamber, and along the north wall of the *pistikon* at the entrance to the baptistery. That of the west arm faced away from the central chamber, those of the north and south arms faced towards the central chamber and that of the *pistikon* faced towards the baptistery. An additional inscription was found in the paving of the north arm along its western wall.

Inscription 1 (fig. 40: north arm, blank spaces at end of lines filled with leaves and crosses)

Επί τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Φλαουιανοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου
/ Εὐσεβίου οἰκονόμου καὶ πρεσβυτέρου, Δωρυς ὁ πρε(σ)βύτερος καὶ /
ταύτην τὴν ἐξέδραν, εὐξάμενος, τὴν ψηφίδα ἐπλήρωσεν. Μη(ν)ος
Δύστρου τοῦ ἐλϋ' ἔτου[ς].

Under our most holy bishop Flavian and under the most venerable administrator and priest Eusebius, the priest Dorys, in fulfilment of a vow, completed the mosaic paving of this *exedra* too, in the month of March of the year 435.

Inscription 2 (figs. 41-42: next to the west wall, north arm)

Κ(ύρι)ε [..... κ]αὶ Μαρθαβα [κ]αὶ Θε[.....] Μα[
]λιβ[

(Thought to be a list of donors.)

Inscription 3 (fig. 44: west arm, set in plain rectangular border)

[Επ]ὶ τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου Φλαουιανοῦ
[το]ῦ ἐπισκόπου, διέποντος τὴν
[οἰκ]ο[νο]μίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας
[τοῦ] τιμωτάτου Εὐσεβίου, Δωρυς
ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ψηφίδα
[τ]ῆς ἐξέδρας δλην ἐποίησ[εν].

22. Director's report for 1935, p. 39.

Under the most holy bishop Flavian, while the most honourable Eusebius was conducting the administration of the church, the priest Dorys paved the entire *exedra* with mosaic.

Inscription 4 (fig. 44: south arm; set in *tabula ansata*, terminated by a leaf)
 [Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου]τ[ά]του Φλαουιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπισκό[που, δι]έποντος
 [τὴν οἰκ]ονομίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Εὐσεβί[ου] π[ρε]σβυτέρου,
 [Δωρυς ὁ π[ρε]σβυ]τέρος καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐξέδρ[αν ἐ]ψη[φ]ισεν.

Under the most holy bishop Flavian, while the priest Eusebius was conducting the administration of the church, the priest Dorys paved this *exedra* too with mosaic.

Inscription 5 (fig. 45: *pistikon*, set in *tabula ansata*, a leaf in each handle)
 Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου καὶ ὁσιοτάτου ἐπισκόπου Θεοδοῦτου, καὶ Ἀθανασίου,
 πρεσβυτέρου καὶ οἰκονόμου, ἡ ψηφείς τοῦ πειστικοῦ γέγονεν καὶ τὸ
 ἔργον / τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ Ἀκκίβα, διακόνου καὶ παραμοναρίου.

Under the most holy and venerable bishop Theodotos, and under Athanasius, priest and administrator, the mosaic paving of the *pistikon* plus this work took place, under Akkiba, deacon and custodian.

The date of the inscription in the north arm, calculated according to the Antiochene civic calendar, places the completion of that section of flooring in March 387 CE. The paving of the west and south arms was also completed during the episcopate of Flavian (381-404). The subtle differences in the language of the three inscriptions suggests that the mosaic of the west arm was laid first and those of the north and south arms subsequently. The similarities in language between the inscriptions of the west and south arms further suggest that the south arm was most likely paved next and that the north arm was paved last,²³ leading to acknowledgement of the completion of the project with an explicit date and more formal inscription. If the pavement of the east arm was part of this program, its inscription no longer survives. It is noteworthy that the lettering in the inscription of the west arm differs stylistically from that of the inscriptions in the south and north arm, suggesting that the former and the latter were marked out for the craftsmen by a different scribe. While it is possible that this indicates that the pavements were laid in two separate phases, it is equally possible that this is simply an

23. If this is the case, then the possibility is to be entertained that the choice to lay the floors of the west and south arms first is related to frequency of use, that is, work was started on these first because these were the areas of the church most used by the audience. For the argument that the audience was the most important in the west and south arms of the church see Part Three, *Uncovering the Church's Past*, pp. 211-13.

accident of who was available to act as scribe on a particular day and that the pavements were laid at the same or within a short space of time. The identical location of the inscriptions in the north and south arms, at the entrance to the central nave, as opposed to that of the west arm, which is found in the centre of the paving, on the other hand, may add some slight weight to the first of these two possibilities. Lassus' explanation of the different orientation of the south and north inscriptions versus the west as an artefact of the church's liturgical orientation does not speak against this.

One other inscription of significance was found on the left arm of what appears to have been a bronze cross (13.5 cm × 5.5 cm tapering to 2.2 cm) (fig. 46). This was discovered among the rubble removed from room 10 (the smaller annex to the baptistery). It reads:

Ἀγίου Ἀνατολίου ἐλεῆσον ...

and is thought, since the genitive is awkward, to have been part of a votive prayer which began with the following words inscribed on the vertical arm of the cross: Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ ... The inscription would thus have read: 'Lord God of St Anatolius, have pity on ...'. It is unornamented on the other side and may have been fixed to the wall.²⁴

Identification

The building has been identified as the Church of St Babylas on three grounds: (1) it was constructed prior to 387 CE, the date of the last of three mosaic pavements installed in three arms of the church and the earliest date supplied; (2) it is situated across the Orontes from the city; and (3) the central chamber contains two tombs of which one is distinctive (a solid stone sarcophagus built for the reception of two bodies). John Chrysostom, who as a priest preached at Antioch from 386-97, speaks of a similarly located church associated with Babylas:

And although you gave him (sc. Babylas) back to the band of like enthusiasts, God's grace didn't allow him to remain there forever. Instead he transferred him once more beyond the river ... And not even when he came here was he destined to be alone. Rather, he quickly received as neighbour and co-inhabitant a man of like temperament. For he shared the same office as

24. For similar examples in silver (Hama treasure, sixth century) see Marlia Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore, 1986), pp. 92-95 and figs. 9.2-4, 10.2-3. She speculates (p. 92) that such crosses could have been set into a stone slab or the cruciform sinking of a stone reliquary as either an ex-voto or dedicatory plaque.

Babylas and displayed the same boldness of speech for the sake of piety. For that reason (not by accident, as it might seem) this admirable enthusiast of the martyr received the same dwelling as him. My point is that he laboured there for a long time, constantly writing letters to the emperor, harassing government officials, and offering the martyr the service of his body. Of course, you know and remember that he used to walk there every day in summer with his circle of administrators when the sun's middle rays occupy the sky, not just as an observer, but also as a person intending to take part in what was going on. Indeed, he often helped grab hold of a stone and dragged on a rope, and when he was doing construction work submitted to anyone who asked before the labourers [could do so]. ... It's for this reason that he spent time cultivating the martyrs, not just with magnificent buildings ...²⁵

This church was built to house the remains of Babylas by an Antiochene bishop. It lay beyond the river (in relation to the cemetery to which Babylas' remains had been returned after they were removed from Daphne).²⁶ It took some time to build and the bishop was intimately involved in its construction. The church was built of stone and was within walking distance.²⁷ Shortly after the relics had been translated to this church, a second body, that of the bishop who had built the church, was buried there. The two bodies are described as neighbours and co-inhabitants. Since the bishop is already dead at the time of this sermon's delivery it cannot be Flavian, the bishop mentioned in the inscription in the pavement of the north arm of the excavated church. That it is Flavian who is mentioned, however, indicates that the excavated church was at that point in the possession of the larger of the two Nicene factions at Antioch. Meletius, whom Sozomen identifies as Babylas' neighbour and thus to whom John alludes in his sermon,²⁸ preceded Flavian as bishop

25. *De s. Babyla*, SChrét. 362, 310-12; trans. Mayer in Leemans et al., 'Let Us Die', pp. 147-48.

26. For the history of the three translations of Babylas' relics see Glanville Downey, 'The Shrines of St. Babylas at Antioch and Daphne', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 2, pp. 45-48.

27. That is, it cannot have lain far beyond the river. Catherine Saliou, 'Le palais impérial d'Antioche et son contexte à l'époque de Julien: réflexions sur l'apport des sources littéraires à l'histoire d'un espace urbain', *Ant. Tard.* 17 (2009), pp. 244-46, confirms the existence of a gate (and thus bridge) from the island in the Orontes to the right bank of the Orontes (near the church) in the fourth century in addition to the bridge from which roads to the north and coast radiated. If we assume that the *episkopeion* (bishop's residence) was near the Great Church, then regardless of where the Great Church was situated within the city (see Great Church, pp. 71-73) and regardless of which bridge they took, the walk for Meletius and his administrators to the church site would have been reasonable.

28. Soz., *HE* 7.40.5, says that after Meletius' death in 361 he was buried at an ecumenical council at Constantinople in 381. His remains were then translated to Antioch and buried alongside the coffin of Babylas (most references to the church and buried

of that faction. Whether John's *ὁμόσκηνον* is taken to mean that Meletius was buried in the same tomb, or Sozomen's *παρὰ τὴν θήκην* is taken to mean that he was buried in a tomb alongside that of Babylas, the excavated church suits either interpretation. The data explain equally well the tombs situated in each of the north corners of the central chamber (one more elaborate, one more humble) or the double sarcophagus in its north-west corner.²⁹ No other church situated in this position relative to the city is known from the literary evidence for this period, and the association of the church with Flavian and the presence of the two tombs in the central chamber offer compelling reasons for accepting the identification. It is with reasonable certainty, then, that we can say that the excavated church complex is the Church of St Babylas.

This identification allows us to refine the date of the building somewhat. Babylas' relics were translated from the martyrion at Daphne to the cemetery at Antioch during the reign of Julian (361-63). Meletius was consecrated a bishop at Antioch in 360 and died at Constantinople in 381, so work on the church must have been initiated some time after Julian's death in June 363 and have been under way before Meletius died in April 381. At Antioch in 386 John Chrysostom preached a sermon at the site of Meletius' burial on the feast day dedicated to him,³⁰ which indicates that by that time the church was complete. This is corroborated by the date of 387 for the finalization of the installation of the mosaic pavement in three of the four arms of the church. The burial of Meletius' remains in the church upon their arrival at Antioch is not definitive for reducing the *terminus ante quem*, since it is unknown how long the remains were held at Constantinople or whether at Antioch they were placed immediately in the church.³¹ Meletius was exiled from Antioch for three periods throughout his career (starting in 361, 365 and 369, respectively). The first of these periods of exile can be dismissed as too early to be relevant. The second exile lasted for some four years. He returned to Antioch in 369 and was in the same year exiled again. The third exile stretched until the death of Valens and the rescript of

29. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 21, suggests that the double sarcophagus contained the bodies of Babylas and Meletius, while the second tomb was that of Flavian, but see Part Three, p. 193, where we offer another explanation for the double sarcophagus and argue that the second tomb is most likely that of Meletius.

30. *De s. Meletio*, PG 50, 515-20. Concerning the date of this homily see Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, p. 39.

31. Downey, 'The Shrines of St Babylas', p. 47, locates the translation of Meletius' body to Antioch in summer 381 on the basis of Soz., *HE* 7.10, but admits that the body could have been interred temporarily in the cemetery at Antioch while awaiting completion of the church.

toleration issued in late 378. Meletius was back in Antioch in time to preside over the Antiochene synod of October 379. The periods during which Meletius could have initiated and worked in a sustained way on the church are thus 362-65 and 379-81. Downey ascribes the church to this last period on the grounds that during the two earlier periods the larger Nicene community over which Meletius presided was constantly in struggle with the other Christian factions at Antioch for possession of its churches. Not until 379, when Nicene Christianity was assured favour, was the situation stable enough for Meletius to have built the church. The mention by John Chrysostom of Meletius' lobbying of the emperor and harassment of government officials also suits this interpretation as there would have been little point in lobbying a hostile emperor.³² The most likely scenario, if John is a reliable witness, is thus that initiation of plans for the construction of the Church of St Babylas took place at some point in 379, construction was under way in the summer of 380,³³ and the cruciform church in its original state was completed by 386 at the latest. Viewed from this timeframe it is unlikely that the original structure was complete at the time of Meletius' death. It is most probable that his successor Flavian took over supervision of the project in 381 and that it was completed several years later. If this is correct, then the body of Meletius was either kept at Constantinople for some years after his death in 381 and only translated when the church was complete, or was temporarily interred at the cemetery along with that of Babylas until both could be transferred on the church's completion.³⁴ A certain caution needs to be observed, however, as this dating of events offers a suspiciously small window between the lobbying and securing of finances by Meletius and his launch into full-scale construction.³⁵

32. Valens, who ruled the east from 364-late 378, supported homoianism.

33. The summer mentioned by John Chrys. in *De s. Babyla* can be no later than 380, since Meletius died before summer 381.

34. That the body was held at Constantinople for some time is not unlikely. See the argument that the body was given temporary burial in the Church of the Apostles in that city in Wendy Mayer, 'Cathedral Church or Cathedral Churches? The Situation at Constantinople (c. 360-404 AD)', *OCP* 66 (2000), pp. 49-68 at p. 83 n. 36. In terms of the triumphant return of Meletius to Antioch described by Sozomen it makes more sense for the body to have been removed from its place of burial in Constantinople only when it could be taken in triumph and interred in a place of special honour in Antioch (that is, its final resting-place in Meletius' church) or perhaps in the city of Antioch.

35. Catherine Salou's identification of the church as a 'martyr's church' (see her article on the right bank and complex structures in the city of Antioch) in *Antioch: A City of Memory and its Raies* (Paris, 1998), pp. 244-46 (see p. 24 below) and her argument that the church was built in the city of Romanesia (see Wendy Mayer, 'The Late Antiquity of Antioch: A City of Memory and its Raies' in *Antioch: A City of Memory and its Raies* (Paris, 1998), pp. 244-46) is not convincing.

Literary sources

On the basis of the identification of the church at Qausiyyeh as that of St Babylas a number of literary sources can be linked to this complex. As mentioned above, in 386 John Chrysostom preached the sermon *De s. Meletio* in the church. The sermon *De s. Babyla* was likewise delivered in this building.³⁶ As cited above, in it John refers to the translation of Babylas' relics to the church and provides vital information about its construction. The sermon is equally important for the information it provides about the use of the church in its opening lines.

Today I was wanting to repay the debt that I promised you when I was here recently. But what can I do? In the meantime blessed Babylas has appeared and called us to him without uttering a sound, but rather grabbing our attention with the brightness of the vision. Don't be upset, therefore, at my deferral of the repayment. Truly, the longer the time period becomes, the more your interest will increase.³⁷

Here John indicates that, contrary to expectation, the church was not treated in his time as a martyrial church, that is, as a location at which a liturgical celebration was held only on the occasion of the festivals of the saints associated with it. Instead John seems to have preached in it on other occasions and on other topics, such that the festival of Babylas is an interruption to his preaching focus. John preached another sermon in this church, which adds further detail. At the opening of *In ss. Juven-tinum et Maximinum* he says that the festival of Babylas recently drew his audience to this location and in his closing remarks encourages the audience to visit the relics of the martyrs regularly, referring to them not as 'here' but 'there'.³⁸ That is, although the relics are not in the current church, they are situated within an easy distance locally. There is thus some particular reason for holding the festival of these two saints at the Church of St Babylas that overrides the more normal practice of holding the festival at the location of their relics.

Martyr-burial in Syrian Antioch', in Johan Leemans (ed.), *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity: Festschrift in Honour of Boudewijn Dehandschutter* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 241; Leuven, 2011), pp. 161-77 (submitted before Salou's article appeared). If this is the case, then John Chrysostom's witness becomes less reliable and the possibility arises that the homoian community also played a role in the church's construction.

36. See Leemans et al., 'Let Us Die', p. 141. Solet, *Le Sacré*, p. 190, sees no indication within the homily of its place of delivery and questions whether it might not have been delivered in the Great Church.

37. *De s. Babyla*, *SChrét.* 362, p. 294; trans. Mayer in Leemans et al., 'Let Us Die', p. 142.

38. PG 50, 571 16-17 up, and 576 6-577 2.

Other sources indicate that the church was still in existence and playing a role at Antioch in the sixth century.³⁹ In his *HE* Evagrius says that at the time of Julian a most spacious church was built for Babylas in front of the city, preserved even until the present day.⁴⁰ The sixth-century pilgrim from Piacenza mentions Babylas as an attraction at Antioch and indicates that at that time the martyr was associated closely with three children.⁴¹ This implies that relics associated with the children had been translated to the church at some stage. That this happened early in the life of the church is suggested by John Chrysostom in the opening to his homily on the martyrs Juveninus and Maximinus, where in fact he groups Babylas and the three youths together and says that these four recently drew the audience to the church.⁴² If translated along with the relics of Babylas on the grounds that the four were martyred together, this may explain the double sarcophagus (that is, the bodies of the three children constituted one layer, the body of Babylas the other).⁴³ No mention of the church appears in the later Arabic sources.

39. The Field Director's report for 1935 (p. 39) concludes that the church seems to have survived until the great earthquake in 526 and possibly up to the Persian invasion in 540, after which period it seems not to have been restored but was perhaps demolished and used as a quarry.

40. *HE* 1.16: ὅτε καὶ νεώς αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παμμεγέθης ἀνίστατο, ὁ καὶ μέχρῃ ἡμῶν σωζόμενος... Evagrius wrote his history in the 590s, indicating that the church was still in good condition at the very end of the sixth century.

41. *Ant. plac. itin. recensio* 1: ...uenimus Antiochia maiore, in qua requiescit sanctus Babylas et tres paruuli...

42. No mention of the youths occurs in his homily *De s. Babyla*. This could be an artefact of his rhetorical strategy in that homily or could possibly indicate that the two homilies were delivered some years apart and that the association between Babylas and the children had developed during the intervening period. If the bodies were translated together as a package, then the first of these two options will have been the case (see Margaret Schatkin and Paul Harkins, *Saint John Chrysostom. Apologist* [Fathers of the Church 73; Washington, DC, 1985], pp. 60–61, for the argument that mentioning the boys would have disturbed the structure of both John's sermon and discourse on Babylas). The three children and Babylas were linked from at least this period. See the Syriac martyrology (William Wright [ed.], 'An Ancient Syrian Martyrology', *Journal of Sacred Literature* NS 8 (1866), pp. 45–55, 423–33 at p. 424). Philostorgius, *HE* 7.8 (Joseph Bidez Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines antiochenen Historiographen (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 23; Leiden, 1981), pp. 86–94, let (eds.), *Jean Chrysostome. Discours sur l'initiation chrétienne* (Sources chrétiennes 190; Paris, 1960), pp. 50–52, coffin.

43. Theodoret, *HE* 3.10, in fact shows that the youths were buried in the same

Antioch Archive, Princeton: Prints 2078–84, 2128, 2182–2219; Drawings Folders 12–13, Field Director's Report 1935, pp. 33–40; Antioch Field Book 1935 12/13–F/G.

Other sources: John Chrys., *De s. Meletio* (PG 50, 515–20), *De s. Babyla* (SChrét. 362, pp. 294–312), and *In ss. Juveninum et Maximinum* (PG 50, 571–78); Soz., *HE* 7.10 (Joseph Bidez and Günther C. Hansen [eds.], *Sozomenus. Kirchengeschichte* [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, N.F. 4; Berlin, 1995], pp. 313–14); Theodoret, *HE* 3.10 (Leon Parmentier and Günther C. Hansen [eds.], *Theodoret. Kirchengeschichte* [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, N.F. 5; Berlin, 1998], pp. 186–87); Evagrius, *HE* 1.16 (Joseph Bidez and Leon Parmentier [eds.], *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with the Scholia* [London, 1898; repr. Amsterdam 1964], p. 26; trans. Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* [Translated Texts for Historians 33; Liverpool, 2000], pp. 42–44); *Ant. plac. itin.* 47 (CCSL 175, pp. 153, 174); Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme'; Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, pp. 283–85 and 2, pl. CXIII–CXV and CXXXIX; Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, pp. 43–47, fig. 19 and pl. 125–39.

Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 282–83; Downey, 'The Shrines of St. Babylas'; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 306, 415–16, 434, 455, 657; Krauthammer, *Architecture*, pp. 51–52; Irving Lavin, 'The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and Their Sources. A Study of Compositional Principles in the Development of Early Medieval Style', *DOP* 17 (1963), pp. 187–286 at p. 194; Ernst Kitzinger, 'The Threshold of the Holy Shrine: Observations on Floor Mosaics at Antioch and Bethlehem', in Patrick Granfield (ed.), *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten* (Münster i.W., 1970), 2, pp. 639–47 [repub. in Ernst Kitzinger, *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*, 2 vols (London, 2002), 1, pp. 244–59]; Edgar Baccache, *Églises de village de la Syrie du nord* (IFAPO, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 105, Documents d'archéologie: La Syrie à l'époque de l'empire romain d'orient, N° 1, 2 vols; Paris, 1979–80), 1, pp. 348–51; Maraval, *Églises saints*, p. 338; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, pp. 21–31; Tchalenko, *Lieux syriennes*, pp. 219–20; Christine Strube, *Die 'Toten Städte'. Stadt und Land in Nordsyrien während der Spätantike* (Mainz a. Rhein, 1996), pp. 41–42; Mayer and Allen, *John Chrysostom*, pp. 18–19; Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 49–50, 56, 64, 66; Leemans et al., 'Let Us Die', pp. 140–41; Philippe de Roten, *Baptême et mystagogie: enquête sur l'initiation chrétienne selon s. Jean Chrysostome* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 91; Münster, 2005), pp. 223–24, 246–47; Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, p. 25; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 199, 202–203; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 152; Saliou, 'Le palais impérial', p. 246; Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400* (Atlanta, 2009), pp. 26–28.

Barlaam, St, Martyrium of

Although there had been a cult of St Barlaam at Antioch since at least the final decades of the fourth century, it appears that at that time there was no martyrium in the vicinity dedicated to the saint. His feast day was

celebrated, rather, in what appears to have been a common martyrium. In the single surviving homily delivered by John Chrysostom on the feast day of St Barlaam he indicates the presence of numerous martyrs' tombs⁴⁴. By c. 480 a separate martyrium dedicated to Barlaam had been established at a location beyond the city walls. The same martyrium was associated at that time with the relics of the Forty Martyrs, whose festival was celebrated there. Malalas records that during the reign of Zeno (474–91) Stephen, Zeno's replacement as bishop of Antioch for the deposed Peter the Fuller, was murdered by his own clergy for being a 'Nestorian' (Chalcedonian). This took place when he had gone out of the city to the festival of the Forty Martyrs (of Sebaste) at a place known as that of Barlaam.⁴⁵ The subsequent disposal of the corpse in the Orontes may suggest that the river was convenient to the martyrium. Theophanes, writing in the ninth century, locates the murder in the baptismal font of the holy martyr Barlaam, but it is uncertain from what authority he derives this detail. Severus, patriarch of Antioch (512–18), confirms both the existence of the martyrium and its two-fold association (with Barlaam and the Forty Martyrs) in the second decade of the sixth century. In a homily on the holy martyr Barlaam (= Barlaam) he imagines the saint reproaching him for having delivered two homilies on the Forty Martyrs, whose church Barlaam shares.⁴⁶ In a letter Severus discloses his expulsion of the deacon Philip from a chapel/shrine of the Forty Martyrs, but it is unclear whether the location under discussion is in the vicinity of Antioch and thus the same, or is an identically named martyrium situated elsewhere within the *territorium* under Severus' jurisdiction.⁴⁷

Sources: John Chrys., *In s. Barlaam* (PG 50, 675–82; trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 79–89); Malalas, *Chron.* 15.6 (ed. Thurn, p. 304; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 211); Severus, *Hom.* 18 (PO 37/1, pp. 8–10), *Hom.* 73 (PO 12/1, p. 90),

44. *In s. Barlaam* (PG 50, 680 54–55).

45. John of Nikiu and Michael the Syrian both follow Malalas in recounting the episode. Evagrius, *HE* 3.10, reports Stephen's murder on the basis of Malalas, but makes no mention of the location.

46. Two homilies that fit this description survive (Severus, *hom.* 18 and 41), dated by Frédéric Alpi, *La route royale. Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient* (512–518) (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique/Institut français du Proche-Orient 188; 2 vols.; Beyrouth, 2009), I, pp. 188–90, to 513 and 514 respectively. *Hom.* 73 on the martyr Barlaam was delivered on 1 June 515. The first (*hom.* 18) mentions its delivery at a martyrium associated with the Forty Martyrs in the opening formula in which Severus anticipates his audience's surprise at his address at a festival of a group of martyrs and the forty days of the Lenten fast, contrary to the custom of celebrating the Forty Martyrs.

47. Alpi, *La route royale* I, p. 192, notes it was not clear whether the location mentioned in this letter and the martyrium in which Severus mentions the Forty Martyrs were the same.

Ep. 1.42 (ed. Brooks 1, pp. 132–33; trans. 2, p. 119); John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 88.44 (ed. Zotenberg, pp. 124–36; trans. Charles, pp. 113–14); Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5973, AD 480/1 (De Boor, p. 128; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 197); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 9.6 (Chabot 4, p. 254; Chabot 2, p. 149). Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 489; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 338; Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 108; Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 177–78; Soler, *Le Sacré*, p. 191; Alpi, *La route royale* I, p. 152; Pauline Allen, 'Loquacious Locals: Two Indigenous Martyrs in the Homilies of Severus of Antioch', in Johan Leemans (ed.), *Persecution and Martyrdom in Late Antiquity. Festschrift in Honour of Boudewijn Dehandschutter* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 3–4.

Campus martius

In the fourth century during the reign of Valens (364–78 CE) the military parade-ground (τὸ πολεμικὸν γυμνάσιον) was used as a site of worship by one of the two Nicene Christian factions at Antioch.⁴⁸ At that time the ecclesiastical buildings inside the city walls were in possession of the homoian Christians, whose religious position the emperor favoured. Theodoret mentions in his *HE* that this site was their second choice, but in the *Historia Religiosa* claims that it was in fact their third. The Nicene faction led by Meletius had initially held their assemblies at the foot of the mountain and then on the bank of the Orontes (which mountain and which river bank are not specified), but were forced to move further away. This took place during the absence of Meletius, who spent much of Valens' reign in Armenia in exile.

The *campus martius* appears at this time to have become a centre of Nicene activity that extended beyond simply assembling there for worship. Theodoret indicates in his *HE* that of the two leaders at that time, Flavian and Diodore, only Flavian preached, while Diodore looked after the flock through other forms of instruction. John Chrysostom confirms this in a homily in praise of Diodore, saying that in the past Diodore took 'the entire city' beyond the river and gave them sound instruction. Theodoret indicates that the hermit Aphraat also regularly crossed the city to the *campus martius* at this time in order to conduct pastoral care. The use of the *campus martius* in this fashion appears not to have been sustained. In the lives both of Julian Sabas and Aphraat in the *Historia*

48. See Downey, *Antioch*, p. 396. Jerome, *ep.* 15.5 (ed. Isidore Hilberg, CSEL 54, p. 67), whose sympathies lie with the Nicene faction led by Evagrius, coins the label 'campenses' to disparage the Meletian faction. The letter, written c. 377 CE, is the only contemporary reference to Christian use of the site. Regarding the date, see Andrew Cain, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009), p. 16.

Religious Theodore claims that the community was forced to shift the locus of their activity periodically, being shunted from the foot of the mountain to the river bank to the *campus martius* and on from there.

Sources: Jerome, *ep.* 15.3 and 5 (CSEL 54, pp. 64, 67); John Chrys., *Laus Diodori* (PG 52, 764 21-28); Theodore, *HE* 4.25-26 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 263-65); Theodore, *Historia religiosa* 2.15, 8.5, 8.7-8 (Paul Canivet and Alice Leroy-Molinghen [eds.], *Théodore de Cyr. Histoire des moines de Syrie* [SChr 234, 257; Paris, 1977], pp. 226-28, 384, 388-92; trans. Price, pp. 31, 74-76).

Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', p. 276; Saliou, 'Le palais impérial', pp. 244-46, 248-49.

Cassian, Church of

The origins of the Church of Cassian itself and of its name are a mystery.⁴⁹ We first hear of it in the title to a homily preached by Severus, patriarch of Antioch, on 22 February 513 on the topic of the Lenten fast. This is the sole reference to the church among the 125 of his homilies that survive. Malalas, in a brief reference to the church, asserts that c. 529 the emperor Justinian donated a jewelled toga to the inhabitants of Antioch and that this was put on display in the so-called Church of Cassian. In c. 579, according to John of Ephesus, who writes in the late sixth century, the church was the scene of an attempted furtive consecration of an alternative patriarch. Damian, Sergius and George, the bishops who plotted the consecration of a replacement for the anti-Chalcedonian bishop Paul, bribed the custodian (*paramonarius*) of the Church of Cassian to leave the church open so that they could enter at night.⁵⁰

The history of the building in the centuries following the transmission of Antioch to Umayyad control may be helpful for understanding why the bishops chose this particular church and not the Great Church for an episcopal consecration, or at the very least why towards the end of the sixth century John of Ephesus thought it the natural location for this

49. An Arabic source of the twelfth century, *The History of Abū al-Makārim*, attributes the name to Cassian, the son of a king, who was raised from the dead by the apostle Peter: Clara ten Hacken, 'The Description of Antioch in Abū al-Makārim's *History of the Church and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries*', in Krijnie Ciggaar and David M. Metcalf (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean I. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest Until the End of the Crusader Principality. Acta of the congress held at Horne Castle in May 2003* (Leuven, 2006), pp. 213, 215. The date at which this aetiological legend concerning Antioch's name and the origin of the name had long since been forgotten.

50. Repeated by Michael the Syrian.

event. In the tenth century the Muslim humanist al-Mas'ūdī visited Antioch, where he noted the existence of a Church of Cassian (al-Qusyan), 'one of the most venerated of that city', along with churches dedicated to Mary, Ashmunit, Barbara and Paul.⁵¹ Ibn Butlān, a Christian Arab who visited the city in 1051, describes this same church in some detail in a letter to a friend in Baghdad, indicating its prominence within the Antiochene Christian community.⁵² In a history of the patriarchs of Antioch written in the seventeenth century, Macarius ibn al-Za'im, patriarch of Antioch (1647-72), on reviewing the period between 638 and 1268 describes the Church of Cassian as Antioch's patriarchal church,⁵³ an attribution confirmed by Michael the Syrian, who identifies it as Antioch's cathedral in 845, while describing events associated with a schism within the Melkite church that took place in that year.⁵⁴ All of these sources suggest that at some stage in its long history the Church of Cassian became the cathedral church. The Greek *Life of Symeon Stylites the Elder* by Antony, which appears to date from the seventh century at the earliest,⁵⁵ inserts the Church of Cassian first in the various translations of Symeon's body at Antioch. By doing so, it gives it priority over the Great Church, which appears to have been the location in which the body was in fact initially laid. This suggests that by the time that the *Life* by Antony was written the Church of Cassian had achieved sufficient prominence that an explanation for why it had not been blessed by Symeon's body was required. The solution adopted by the author, to insert the church into the narrative as an initial, if temporary, resting-place before the body was translated to a more permanent site (the Great Church), is undeniably neat. John of Ephesus' attribution of an attempted ordination to the church suggests that by the late sixth century its status had already increased to the point where it was becoming considered one of the main churches of Antioch.

51. Ahmad Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī & His World. A Muslim Humanist and His Interest in Non-Muslims* (London, 1979), p. 292. See also Guy Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Muslims. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500* Translated from the Works of the Medieval Arab Geographers (London, 1890), p. 367.

52. Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 370-73.

53. Carsten-Michael Walbinder, 'The City of Antioch in the Writings of Macarius Ibn al-Za'im (17th C)', *ARAM* 11-12 (1999-2000), pp. 509-21 at p. 519.

54. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 12.19 and 12.20 (Chabot 4, 534-36; Chabot 5, pp. 94, 97-100).

55. Robin Lane-Fox, 'The Life of Daniel', in Mark J. Edwards and Simon Swain (eds.), *Portraits. Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 175-225 at pp. 182-88; see also Symeon Stylites the Elder, *Martyrium* of, pp. 106-107.

Tenuous evidence from the tenth to thirteenth centuries may also offer a clue as to the location of the church within the late antique city.⁵⁶ Ottoman sources and local Antakyan tradition concerning the present-day Habib Neccar mosque, situated prominently along the old Roman *cardo* of the city, claim that the mosque was known during the crusader period as a church called 'El Kosyan' (Kasyana). It is further understood that a mosque was constructed on the site as early as the beginning of Umayyad rule in Antioch (the late 630s), that the building was converted to a church in the tenth century when the city returned to Byzantine control, was reclaimed as a mosque under the Seljuks (1085-98), became once again a church under the Franks (1098-1268), and was reclaimed as a mosque in the mid-thirteenth century when the city was taken by the Mamluks.⁵⁷ The observation of Ibn Butlân that the Church of Cassian (al-Qusyân) was located in the centre of the city offers support for these claims.⁵⁸ The drawing together of these tenuous threads raises the possibility that the later tradition concerning the Habib Neccar mosque glosses over an earlier history, in which the original mosque was converted from a pre-existing church, and that the identification of the converted mosque in the tenth to thirteenth centuries as the Church of Cassian recalls its early history. That the legend of Habib Neccar (Habib the carpenter, a Christian apostle and associate of Peter) takes on prominence only in the accounts of Antioch recorded by Arab writers and travellers of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries adds weight to the suspicion that the association between Habib and the site is not original.⁵⁹ If the present-day mosque does prove to stand on the site of the late antique Church of Cassian, then it was located along the *cardo* in the old city roughly parallel with the bridge across the Orontes from which the road to Seleucia Pieria and the route north to Constantinople radiated (fig. 58).⁶⁰

56. The following argument runs contra to Kennedy, 'From Byzantium to Islam', p. 190, who finds it tempting to associate the Habib Neccar mosque with the site of St Peter's Church, but concludes that the identification is untenable. At p. 188 he identifies the former Church of Cassian as the Frankish Cathedral of St Peter in Antioch and so presumably dismisses the connection that we raise. Since Kennedy may well have confused the shrine of Habib Neccar with the mosque-in modern Antakya these are two distinct sites—the early thirteenth-century Arabic source cited (Takut al-Rumi), to the effect that under Frankish rule the shrine was a place of Muslim pilgrimage, may not in fact speak against this identification.

57. Mehmet Tekin, *Habib Neccar in Antakya* (Antioch, 2000), pp. 25-56.
58. Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 371.
59. See Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 231-36.
60. Alpi, *La route royale* I, p. 153, adopts the tradition, recorded in the Greek Life of

Symeon Stylites the Elder by Ammari, that along the *cardo* in the north of Merope, five miles north-east of the city, along the route to Damascus.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 15 (PG 38/2, p. 419); Malalas, *Chron.* 18.45 (Thurn, p. 378; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 264); Vita Sym. Ant. 29-32 (Hans Lietzmann, *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites* [TU, Bd. 32, Heft 4; Cistercian Studies Series 112; Kalamazoo, MI, 1992], pp. 98-100); John of Ephesus, *HE* 4.41 (Cureton, pp. 268-71; trans. Robert Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus* [Oxford, 1860], pp. 300-304); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 10.17 and 12.19-20 (Chabot 4, pp. 369, 534-36; Chabot 2, p. 345, Chabot 3, pp. 94, 97-100); Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 367-73; Walbinder, 'City of Antioch', p. 519.
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 531; Kennedy, 'From Byzantium to Islam', pp. 187-88, 190; Tekin, *Habib Neccar*; Alpi, *La route royale* I, p. 152.

Cemetery

see Koimeterion

Church

1. In the New (City)

The title to a homily delivered by Severus of Antioch (512-18) enigmatically refers to a church called *katà kainḗn* ('in the new [city]'),⁶¹ where the 'Nestorians' (Chalcedonians) furtively gather. There Severus repeated, with adaptation, a sermon against Theodore's christology that he had delivered at Cyrrhus. During the course of the sermon he makes it clear that Cyrrhus is elsewhere and unfamiliar to the present audience, increasing the probability that he is speaking at Antioch.

If Severus is indeed preaching at Antioch it is most likely that he is referring to the quarter on the island in the Orontes, but it is uncertain to what church he refers. Various sections were added to the city over its history, all of which were at one time or another likely to have been popularly referred to as 'new', regardless of their official titles.⁶² Antiochus IV (175-64 BCE) founded a satellite, Epiphaneia, possibly located on Mt Staurin; Agrippa (c. 15 CE) established a new city quarter named for himself;⁶³ while in his panegyric on Antioch (360 CE) Libanius explicitly refers to the development on the island in the Orontes which took place under Diocletian (284-305) as 'the new city'.⁶⁴ At the end of

61. The Greek phrase is preserved as a marginal gloss in both surviving manuscripts.

62. So the Great Church was for a time known as the 'new church'. See Great Church, p. 76.

63. Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 171-80.

64. Or. 11.203-207 (Foerster I, pp. 506-508). Regarding the layout of the 'new city' at this period see Gianna Dareggi, 'A proposito dell'urbanistica della "città nuova" di Antiochia di Siria nella testimonianza di Libanio', *Annali della facoltà di Lettere e*

the sixth century it was still called the new city by Evagrius,⁶⁵ who describes the area as heavily populated and without any empty space. This increases the probability that by the early sixth century, when Severus presided over the see of Antioch, multiple churches were situated in that quarter.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 64 (PO 8/2, pp. 313, 316-17).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', p. 53; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 151; Saliou, 'Le palais impérial', p. 239.

2. At Kaoussie (Qausiyeh)

see Babylas, St. Church of

3. In Machouka

Labelled a chance find in the summary of the excavations of 1936, the church itself was not the subject of a report published by the archaeological team. Levi is the main published source, supplying a plan and photographs of the site and of the mosaics, which he derived from the Princeton archives.⁶⁶ His work has more recently been updated by Pauline Donceel-Voûte and Sheila Campbell. The church is situated on the north side of the road to Beroea, in the northern suburbs of Antioch less than one kilometre beyond the Tiberian city wall (fig. 4). Only the foundations and part of the floors remained. It is described as a small three-aisled basilica, with the nave divided from the two lateral sides by colonnades, preceded by a narthex to the south-west (figs. 59-65). A column base survives in the narthex exterior wall (fig. 66). Fallen brickwork lying in the south aisle indicates that the building was primarily constructed of brick (fig. 67). No evidence of an apse at the north-east end of the building is shown in the plan, although the building must have extended further to the east at this stage as a segment of mosaic pavement was found to the east beyond the northern (left) aisle (fig. 68). The photographs in fact show that part of an area that could perhaps be

Filosofia. Università degli studi di Perugia 21 n.s. 7 (1983-84), pp. 135-42; Grégoire Poccardi, 'L'île d'Antioche à la fin de l'Antiquité: histoire et problème de topographie urbaine', in Luke Lavan (ed.), *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism* (JRA Suppl. Series 42; Portsmouth, RI, 2001), pp. 152-71; and Catherine Saliou, 'Le palais impérial'.

65. HE 2.12 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 61-62, 63-64; Saliou, p. 239).

66. It is to be noted that, while the first drawing of the church shows the orientation and architectural details, it does not indicate the relative positions of the church and the pavement. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 174, supplies the only indication, showing a roughly 15 m x 30 m.

interpreted as an apse was uncovered (figs. 69-70). In the field notes it is recorded that the east wall of the (north?) aisle is later in date and may in fact represent a later reconstruction.⁶⁷ Levi supplies no evidence of date, although Campbell notes the use of similar mosaic patterns in the House of the Phoenix at Daphne and the House of Ktisis. The first of these is dated to 500-26 CE on the basis of coin, pottery and earthquake evidence. Donceel-Voûte likewise prefers a date in the first half of the sixth century on stylistic grounds.⁶⁸ Dating on the basis of stylistic similarity is, however, notoriously imprecise. The original field notes, moreover, show that the excavators assumed at least two phases of construction: (1) an original rectangular basilica, probably with an apse at its eastern end; and (2) the addition of side aisles and a narthex, and probable squaring off of the sanctuary area at the east end of the original nave. A further modification occurred when the southern end of the narthex was walled in, creating a 'mortuary chapel' with entrance via the southern (right) aisle. The narthex in fact contains three tombs of what appears to be brick construction paved over with flagstones, similar to the majority of the tombs found in the Church of St Babylas. Two tombs are located just beyond the north wall of the central nave and are oriented east-west (fig. 71). The tomb in the southern end of the nave is set close to the southern corner of the narthex and is oriented north-south (figs. 62, 72). Both the field notes and Levi fail to mention a well set in the floor of the central nave midway between the eastern and western ends and close to the left colonnade (fig. 73).

Levi assumes that the entire floor was originally paved with geometric mosaics, with only those of the north (left) aisle relatively well preserved (figs. 63, 74-76). An exception is the east end of the north aisle where a section of *opus sectile* was discovered, consisting mainly of units of squares and diamonds (fig. 77). The patterns of the existing mosaics do not vary greatly. An all over design of fleurettes set into a white shell pattern predominates. Borders vary from a diagonal swastika meander to tangent concave octagons containing squares and a panel comprising a grid of alternate light and dark squares, each containing a crosslet. At

67. Field notes 1936, Observations, Church 9V/W: 'Marble pavement. N.E. corner: laid on rubble concrete, later or contempor. to N. wall nave, as it comes close against it. It is earlier than present E wall of aisle, save at angle where same joins Nave wall. & here a small bit is pres. that goes against a block projecting at L to Nave wall. Perhaps present E. wall of aisle is a late reconstr.?'.

68. Fatih Cimok (ed.), *Antioch Mosaics* (Istanbul, 2000), p. 291, without acknowledgement of Campbell's tentative comments or of Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, confidently dates the church 'from the first half of the sixth century'.

the western end of the north aisle the fleurette design manifests differently as a rectangular grid in which each square contains in an alternating pattern a four-petal fleurette or small square. After the overall fleurette pattern resumes, as one moves towards the eastern end of that aisle there occurs an inscription which ends with a large leaf, framed within a *tabula ansata*, as follows (fig. 78):

Κ(ὸ)ριε, πρόσδεξε
τὴν καρποφορί-
αν ὧν τὰ ὀνόμα-
τα γινώσκis

Lord, receive the offering of those whose names you know.⁶⁹

The next panel of overall fleurette design contains near its southern end a circle with an inner circle of stepped pyramids and eight lines like spokes of a wheel.

Donceel-Voûte describes the church as having a liturgical organization alien to the Antiochene hinterland.⁷⁰ Rudolf Haensch confirms her supposition that the church was built by a person or group not native to Antioch, via a comparative study of the formulaic elements of the inscription, which he finds common in Palaestina 1, Arabia, Cilicia and Isauria in the fifth and sixth centuries, but in this instance unique in Syria 1.

Antioch archive, Princeton: Prints 2887-2907, 2938-41; Drawings Folder 7, Antioch Field Book 1936 9-V.

Other sources: *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 2, p. 4; Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, pp. 367-69 and 2, pl. CXL.e-CXLI; Campbell, *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 12, fig. 5 and pl. 39-44; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, pp. 174-77, 2, planche hors-texte 10.

Literature: Krautheimer, *Architecture*, p. 138; Rudolf Haensch, 'Archäologie und Epigraphik, reichsweite Verbreitung und lokale Praktiken', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 43 (2010), pp. 289-95.

4. In Seleucia Pieria (lower city)

Location, plan and construction

The church discovered at Seleucia Pieria as a result of excavations in 1938-39 is located in the lower city at the foot of the rock-cut stairway

69. Regarding the significance of *καρποφορία* and its cognates in inscriptions in reference to contributions towards a church's construction from multiple donors see Rudolf Haensch, 'Le financement de la construction des églises pendant l'antiquité tardive et l'évergétisme antique', *Ant. Tard. et Class.* 20 (2008), pp. 1-24.

70. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 177.

leading to the upper level. It is prominently situated within the city, being only a short distance west of the main colonnaded street leading to the harbour, in proximity to the Market Gate, and just inside the Roman walls (figs. 5, 79). The church underwent two distinct phases of construction (figs. 80-81). The first phase, which is unable to be dated accurately due to the interruption of the excavation,⁷¹ produced a central-plan building that is a double-shelled tetraconch in form, with an apse-ended rectangular wing projecting to the east, variously described as a chancel⁷² or presbytery.⁷³ The width of the inner tetraconch is approximately 25 m and that of the outer tetraconch 37 m. The ambulatory between the two shells is 5 m wide and the projecting wing measures 17 m × 11 m. The core of the building encloses a square space, having at its corners L-shaped piers from which project curved columnar *exedrae*, while a spacious ambulatory rings the central core (figs. 82-84). Doors were located on each side of the outer L-shaped corners. The projecting wing had no exterior door and was entered via a wide, distyle portal in the eastern ambulatory. The floor of the central tetraconch was paved in marble, as also the eastern ambulatory in front of the wing, and the main body of the wing. The floors of the remainder of the ambulatory and the apse in the wing were covered with mosaics, identified by Campbell as being late fifth-century in style.⁷⁴ The excavators found no discernible trace of wall mosaics. Outside the north-east and south-east corners and the western door were pavements of limestone blocks, which Campbell speculates may have been the floor of porches (fig. 85).⁷⁵ The roof is thought to have been of timber and ceramic tile, both since the only covering material found on the site was roof tile and because the columns of the inner tetraconch are too small to support anything except timber.⁷⁶ The shape of the roof over the central space and ambulatories cannot be determined.⁷⁷ For the same reason that it cannot have supported a masonry roof, it is supposed that the structure was single-storied. Fragments of marble latticework, comprised of intersecting circles, were found (fig. 86), which suggests that grills once covered the building's windows.

71. William A. Campbell, 'The Martyrion at Seleucia Pieria', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, p. 53.

72. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 37; Levi, *Mosaic Pavements*, 1, p. 359.

73. Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 217.

74. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', pp. 35, 53.

75. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 40.

76. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', pp. 52-53; Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 217.

77. Speculation for the roof over the central space varies from pyramidal to domed. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 53; Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 91.

In phase 2 two periods of building activity occurred, which were so closely related in time and in the construction methods and materials used that they have been considered continuous.⁷⁸ In the first of these two periods extensive repairs were undertaken and a different construction technique applied which has been interpreted as an attempt to produce a structure more resistant to earthquake (fig. 87). The common assumption is that this phase of construction occurred following the quake of May 526 CE, which, in addition to causing major damage at Antioch, destroyed much of Seleucia Pieria.⁷⁹ In the second period, the rebuilding that took place shows similar evidence of responding to earth tremors. In the first period the foundations of the north and south sides of the original structure were rebuilt and the curve of the south side was rebuilt in its entirety. The south door of the south-west corner was walled up. Additions were also made at this period. Exterior to the south wall of the church, near the south door of the south-east corner, a small 'chapel' was partially excavated, with a small horse-shoe-shaped western apse (fig. 88). When the walls of the wing to the original church were rebuilt, doors were inserted in what had been the exterior walls to the north and south. These led on the north side to a newly constructed vestibule that connected to a complex of rooms, including a baptistery (figs. 89-92). On the south side the door led directly into a 'chapel', similar in design, but slightly smaller than the one constructed outside the south wall of the tetraconch (fig. 93). Much of the construction to the north and south of the wing appears to have utilized the original limestone paving as flooring. Within the tetraconch at this same period sections of the original marble floor in the angles of the central tetraconch were removed and replaced by panels of marble *opus sectile* (fig. 94). To this same period Campbell attributes the addition to the central tetraconch of a permanent stone structure that appears to be a U-shaped *bema* of a kind related to those found in certain north-Syrian churches of this period (fig. 82).⁸⁰ The remains suggest that at its west end it terminated in a semi-circular *synthronon* (fig. 95), while a thin cross wall towards the eastern end divided the rectangular section of the *bema*, suggesting a shallow set of steps.⁸¹ Kleinbauer, on the basis of the published photographs, questions the attribution of the *bema* to

the first period of phase 2 and argues that the remains can be interpreted to show that it formed part of the original construction.⁸² Campbell, on the basis of his attribution of the *bema* to the first period of phase 2, however, thought that both the *bema* and the rooms and 'chapel' to the south of the wing showed evidence of a second period of rebuilding that in the case of the *bema* took place when the rectangular body of the *bema* extended only as far as the cross wall and the *synthronon* was possibly not yet complete. He interpreted this as indicating that a second earthquake interrupted the reconstruction work undertaken in the first period of phase 2 and that this most likely occurred in 528.⁸³

Decorative program

The decorative program of the church constitutes mosaic flooring of several different styles, marble paving, bas-relief revetments, marble champlévé-relief revetments that show traces of colouring, and architectural features carved in the latter technique. Surviving column capitals indicate a variety of treatments (figs. 96-98). Fragments of Greek inscriptions were also found (fig. 99). The carved revetments are thought to have enlivened expanses of plain marble revetment on the walls,⁸⁴ and were employed in at least two friezes, one 26 cm, the other 34 cm in width. Dresken-Weiland calculates on the basis of the measurements of the interior of the exterior wall of the tetraconch that at least one of the friezes would have extended for 136 m.⁸⁵ The Antioch exhibition catalogue of 2000 includes computer-generated models of the tetraconch's interior with sections of the decorative elements in place.⁸⁶

The dating of the decorative elements varies. The mosaic flooring within the north, south and west ambulatory belongs to phase 1, as does the marble flooring of the east ambulatory, the central tetraconch and the rectangular body of the east wing (fig. 100). The floor of the apse at the end of that wing shows traces of a white mosaic laid in a scale pattern, similar to the background in the mosaic pavement of the ambulatory.

82. Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 94.

83. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 53.

84. Susan Boyd, 'The Relief Decoration of the Church Building at Seleucia Pieria', in Kondoleon (ed.), *Antioch*, pp. 220-23 at p. 220.

85. Dresken-Weiland, 'Zur Ikonographie und Datierung', p. 722. Neither Boyd nor Dresken-Weiland addresses the possibility that some of the relief elements may have decorated the *hema*.

86. Christine Kondoleon, 'The Mosaic Pavement of the Church Building at Seleucia Pieria', in eadem (ed.), *Antioch*, pp. 218-21.

Sections of the marble flooring in the angles of the central tetraconch were removed and replaced with marble *opus sectile* panels in phase 2 (fig. 94). A marble *opus sectile* floor was laid in the newly constructed baptistery during the first period of phase 2 (fig. 92). The champlévé-relief baptistery during the first period of phase 2 on the grounds that the thin revetments are attributed by Boyd to phase 2 on the grounds that the thin panels would otherwise have been destroyed in the earthquake that occasioned that phase of construction. Katherine Kiefer, who produced the catalogue entries on the relief fragments owned by the Art Museum of Princeton University, speculates that the bas-reliefs may date from phase 1, based on the evidence that many can be identified as pilaster bases. Due to their low position they are more likely to have survived an earthquake.⁸⁷

The subject-matter depicted in the champlévé-reliefs is varied. Birds, fish and animals are in the majority, sometimes arranged within vegetal scrolls, sometimes presented as a single animal separated from the next by a meander design (figs. 101-105). Figural subjects constitute roughly a third of the champlévé-relief fragments that were found and range from pastoral subjects to scenes from the Old and New Testaments (figs. 106-109). To place this in perspective, it should be noted that these fragments constitute only a small percentage of the original decorative program. The surviving bas-reliefs include a wide range of biblical figures and scenes drawn exclusively from the Old Testament, and other human figures (figs. 110-12), but also include floral and animal subject matter (figs. 113-14). A series of standing, frontal saints (in fragmentary condition) is also preserved (fig. 115). These vary in scale, but are on a larger scale than the biblical figures. A larger than life-size image of Christ was also part of the decorative program (fig. 116). At least one other image of Christ was identified (fig. 117), although this is too fragmentary for the identification to be certain. Figures of angels were identified on a number of the capitals (fig. 118). In both bas-reliefs and champlévé-reliefs crosses were included as a design element (figs. 119-22) and border treatments were varied (figs. 123-26). The frequent presence of animals among the frieze fragments matches the mosaic program that paved three sides of the ambulatory (figs. 127-32). The decoration of this part of the church comprises a broad band containing two series of animals opposed back to back (that is, one series facing the outer wall, the other the colonnade). They are bordered by a vine rinceau on both sides, with a frame of waves separating the animal frieze from the border. *Many of the animals*

⁸⁷ Curli and St Clair, *Byzantium and Princeton*, p. 44.

are marching towards the entrance to the wing, situated to the east. Larger quadrupeds tend to be in the outer row and smaller birds and animals in the inner. The occasional animal faces in the opposite direction, breaking up the monotony. The animals are disproportionate in size, giving the impression that they derive from a zoological copybook. The ground between the figurative elements is filled with florets in a scale pattern. Compositionally this section of the decorative program belongs to the hunting scenes found in a number of private houses at Antioch, but is also evocative of the game parks kept by Roman aristocrats and their depiction on the garden walls of townhouses. Kondoleon sees its transferral from the private house into the house of God as indicative of the permeability of the boundaries between religious and secular art in Late Antiquity.⁸⁸ Whether the hunt scene became imbued with any specifically Christian meaning in this context is debatable.

Status

Because of its centralized plan the excavators interpreted the building as a martyrium, despite a lack of evidence that might indicate specialized use.⁸⁹ The addition in the second building phase of a permanent baptistery, which is indicative of a church used on the contrary for ordinary synaxis, was not taken into consideration at that stage. Shortly afterwards André Grabar, in an addendum to his study of martyria, argued on the basis of this second phase that an original martyrium (as identified by its shape) was subsequently transformed into a church.⁹⁰ The identification of the original building as a martyrium persisted until 1973 when Kleinbauer produced an analysis of aisled tetraconch churches in Syria which suggested that all such structures are to be identified rather as high-ranking churches within the diocese of Orients, deriving from a common Antiochene model.⁹¹ On the basis of its location and

⁸⁸ Kondoleon, 'The Mosaic Pavement', p. 219.

⁸⁹ Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 54. The thesis that form conforms to function and that a centralized architectural form is indicative of a martyrium was formalized not long afterwards by André Grabar, *Martyrium. Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique*, 2 vols (Paris, 1946).

⁹⁰ Grabar, *Martyrium* 2, p. 371 (cf. *ibid.*, 1, p. 189).

⁹¹ Identified by Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', pp. 111-14, as the Great Church at Antioch (see discussion there). For an indication of the general change in opinion away from the automatic identification of a central-plan building as a martyrium that was taking place as Kleinbauer presented his case, compare Krautheimer, *Architecture*, p. 229.

form he posited that it was constructed and served as the local cathedral at Seleucia Pieria.⁹² The full decorative program of the church is consistent with this interpretation.

Antioch Archive, Princeton: Prints 4559-5565; Drawings Folder 39, Antioch cards Mosaics 318-52 (N. 4675-92); Antioch Field Book-Seleucia: Martyrion.

Other Sources: Campbell, 'The Martyrion', pp. 35-54; Richard Stillwell, 'Catalogue of Sculpture: Reliefs from the Martyrion at Seleucia', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, pp. 124-34; Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, pp. 359-63 and vol. 2, pl. LXXXVII-LXXIX and CLXXV-CLXXVIa; Ćurčić and St Clair, *Byzantium and Princeton*, pp. 43-49 (figs. 5-15).

Literature: Kurt Weitzmann, 'The Iconography of the Reliefs from the Martyrion', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 3, pp. 135-49; Grabar, *Martyrium* 1, p. 189 and 2, p. 371; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 507; Lavin, 'The Hunting Mosaics'; Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions'; Dresken-Weiland, 'Zur Ikonographie'; Baccache, *Églises de village* 1, pp. 352-55; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, pp. 290-98; Tchalenko, *Églises syriennes*, pp. 221-22; Strube, *Die Toten Städte*, p. 41; Kleinbauer, 'The Church Building'; Kondoleon, 'The Mosaic Pavement'; Boyd, 'The Relief Decoration'; Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 50, 56, 66; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 155.

5. In Seleucia Pieria (upper city)

As a result of its discovery on the last day of the last season of field work in 1939 and the fact that no mention of it appears in the reports, this church in Seleucia Pieria has remained largely unknown. Levi notes that Campbell had time only to visit the site and make some hurried notes before the mosaics were covered over again. As a further complication, Kleinbauer notes that in 1967 the relevant pages in Campbell's field notes were missing when he attempted to consult them. Many of Campbell's field notes for that year are missing in the Antioch Archive at Princeton today. In the Archive files, a copy made by Downey of the inscription survives on a loose sheet of paper, at the top of which he records that he derived it from Campbell's Seleucia notebook, volume 3, p. 25 of 3 September 1939. Until such time as the missing pages from the original field notes are recovered, any data about the church are thus provisional.

92. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, 'The Church Building at Seleucia Pieria', in Kondoleon (ed.), *Antioch*, p. 218. Despite Kleinbauer, some scholars still question identifying it as a 'Toten Städte', p. 41, who identifies it as the bishop's church.

On the basis of Campbell's notes, Levi records that the church appears to have been a small three-aisled basilica, situated on top of a cliff above the sea, between the cliff and the channel of the tunnel cut during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. The church was partly built up in masonry and partly cut into the rock (the north part of the north aisle). The mosaics that Campbell noted belonged to the north aisle and comprised the remains of three panels: a panel to the east containing an inscription (situated in the middle of the aisle facing west); a central square panel containing a wheel with multicoloured rays; and a rectangular panel with a pattern of beribboned birds in squares. The inscription was transcribed as follows:

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Δι[
[...], αἰνεῖσθαι ἡ ψήφωσις τῆς ἀνατολικῆς]
σπουδῇ Βάχχου τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου διακόνου παρ[α]
μοναρίου καὶ ἐκ(κ)λησι(ας) ἐκδίκου εἰς δόξαν θε[οῦ]
καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, 93 μ(ην) Ἀρ(ε)μ(ισ)ίω [νδ] (ικτίωνος)
ιβ' τοῦ βοχ' ἔτους ἀποστολ[
δίου τὸ καλὸν ἔργον τοῦτο ἐγένετο.

Under our most holy bishop Di[...]⁹⁴ the mosaic paving of the eastern [...] through the zeal of Bacchus the most god-loving deacon, custodian, and church lawyer, to the glory of God and honour of the apostle. This beautiful work took place in the month of Artemisios in the 12th indiction in the year 672 [...].⁹⁵

It appears that no traces of mosaic were seen in the south aisle.

Given the region and the apostle Paul's association with Antioch, Kleinbauer argues that the apostle of line 5 is to be identified as St Paul and believes that the church was dedicated to him. His identification is unverifiable, since no mention of the church occurs in known epigraphic or textual sources, and becomes less plausible, if, as it appears, the church is late in date, since from the mid-fifth century onwards the relics of saints proliferated and a local connection to the relics is less essential. There is in fact greater reason to suppose that the apostle in question may prove to be Thomas (see Thomas the Apostle, Church of, in Seleucia Pieria) on the basis of evidence concerning the second decade of the sixth

93. Although Downey copies the last extant word in line 6 of the inscription as ἀποστόλου, in his notes he speculates that the final Ε of ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΕ might represent the character usually utilized for the diphthong ου.

94. Downey notes that there is not enough space for either Διονυσίου or Διοδωρου. 95. In his pencilled notes Downey speculates that the 'end of line 6 & beginning of line 7' probably gives the name of some other person who was also concerned with the work on ἐξ ἰδίου.

century supplied by Severus of Antioch. Levi, who arrived at alternative dates of 361 or 368 CE,⁹⁶ and was concerned at their lack of correspondence with the 12th indiction, erred in using the Seleucid calendar.⁹⁷ In inscription 1 (room 1, north aisle) of the Church of St Babylas, the correspondence of the year 435 to 387 CE can be verified on the basis of the bishop named, indicating that in the region the years were calculated not according to the Seleucid era but to the Antiochene civic era. Using this method of calculation solves Levi's dilemma, because 672 in the Antiochene calendar corresponds to the 12th indiction and supplies us with a date of 624 CE. Since the Antiochene year in this period began on 1 September, the mosaic was thus installed in the eastern part of this church in May 625.⁹⁸

If this date is correct, it is of considerable interest on two counts. Firstly, it falls during the period of Sassanian control of Syria (611-28) about which little is known. If, as Butcher speculates, the Persians negotiated peaceful surrender wherever possible while actively supporting religious minorities, such as Jews and anti-Chalcedonians,⁹⁹ then this church may constitute supporting evidence. Secondly, the bishop of the inscription whose name does not survive in full appears to be the local incumbent, since the names of neither the Chalcedonian nor anti-Chalcedonian bishops of Antioch at this time match. This suggests that the work on the paving in the church was commissioned locally and was not directed from Antioch. That the economy was stable enough at Seleucia Pieria in the first decades of the seventh century for a local church administrator to finance either the renewal of existing mosaic pavement or a new section of paving fills in a gap in the historical and

96. In a marginal note to his pencilled copy of the inscription, Downey calculates the date as 672-312 = AD 360/61.

97. The assumption was reasonable as the Seleucid calendar was used in other parts of Syria that were not directly under the aegis of Antioch. For dates of Syrian churches that include indictions and for which the use of the Seleucid calendar can therefore be verified see Pierre Canivet, 'Le Michaelion de Huarie (Ve) et le culte syrien des anges', *Byz.* 50 (1980), pp. 85-117 at pp. 108-109. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 493, however, points out that a common feature in the epigraphy of churches in the limestone massif to the east of Antioch is their use of the Antiochene era for dating.

98. Regarding the change from 1 October to 1 September in the fifth century CE see Glanville Downey, 'The Calendar Reform at Antioch in the Fifth Century', *Byz.* 15 (1940-41), pp. 39-48. On the domination of the Antiochene calendar throughout the Antiochene patriarchate from the fourth century on see Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 126.

99. Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 77, supported by Chris Foss, 'The Romans in the Roman Near East (602-630 AD)', *JRAS* 13 (2003), pp. 148-70 at pp. 158 and 169 (the Persians generally supported the anti-Chalcedonians, but Chalcedonians were also able to operate

archaeological record.¹⁰⁰ As Pamir notes, the general impression is that following the earthquakes of the sixth century the port and city declined, with the focus of settlement in the Orontes delta returning to the port of al-Mina.¹⁰¹

Antioch Archive, Princeton: Antioch files, drawer 2 (Antioch: Churches in Kaoussie [Qausiyeh] & Machouka), loose sheet containing pencilled copy of inscription from Campbell's Seleucia Notebook III, p. 25 of 3 Sept. 1939, by Downey, plus Downey's personal notes.

Other sources: Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, p. 482 n. 346.

Literature: Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 93.

Cosmas and Damian, Saints, Church of

As part of a reconstruction program at Antioch initiated by Justinian following the earthquake of 526, the emperor financed the construction of several new churches in the city. According to Malalas, two of these, the Church of the Theotokos and a church dedicated to the physician saints Cosmas and Damian, were located near the basilica of Rufinus, the first directly opposite, the second near to the first. Downey associates the basilica of Rufinus with the Hellenistic agora built at Epiphaneia, a satellite of Antioch established by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-64 BCE). This would locate the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Epiphaneia. Whereas Downey believed that this 'quarter' lay along the lower slopes of Mt Silpius (and therefore within the later city walls), renewed archaeological work at Antioch now tentatively locates the satellite on a plateau at the top of neighbouring Mt Staurin enclosed by its own set of walls (fig. 2).¹⁰² The implications of this radical reconfiguration of the components of the known city in regard to the multitude of buildings thought to have been located in Epiphaneia and their role in Antiochene daily life are as yet unknown.

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 17.19 (Thurn, p. 351; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 243).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 621-31; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 339; Todt, *Region 2*, p. 799.

100. See Foss, 'The Persians', p. 159, who mentions the dearth of evidence for Antioch, but cites evidence from Bostra that churches were being built, restored or decorated during the occupation.

101. Pamir in Yener, *The Amuq Valley*, pp. 74-75.

Dometius, St, Martyrium of

Severus of Antioch provides sole evidence of the existence of a healing shrine of the martyr Dometius at Antioch in the second decade of the sixth century.¹⁰¹ He delivers a homily on the martyr in what is clearly a martyrium dedicated to that saint, since he describes the unique features of the decorative program of the church in comparison to other local martyria. In contrast to the martyria of the other saints, cures that the saint has effected are depicted around the walls, which are adorned with slabs of white marble, ceilings, basins and cubes of different colours that glitter and shine in sunlight (p. 370). That the martyrium is situated at Antioch is indicated by his discussion of Dometius' origins. He is a Syrian ascetic who originated in the region around Cyrrhus and 'came to live among us' (p. 376). As another feature of the decorative program of the martyrium Severus describes sheets of gold and silver foil engraved with a depiction of the healing and of the limb healed with which the martyr is habitually honoured (p. 376). These are clearly votive offerings left at the shrine.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 51 (PO 35/3, pp. 368-79).

Literature: Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 339; Todt, *Region 2*, p. 796; Pauline Allen, 'Welcoming Foreign Saints to the Church of Antioch', *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 5 (2009), pp. 9-20.

Forty Martyrs, Martyrium of

See Barlaam, St, Martyrium of

Golden Church

see Great Church

Great Church

Location, plan and construction

We first hear of the church in a panegyric that Eusebius composed to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine's succession to the imperial throne (delivered on 25 July 336). There he describes the

102. Hoepfner, 'Antiochia die Große', pp. 7-8.

103. Downey, Antioch, makes no mention of the church in his *La route royale* 1, pp. 152-53 and p. 320 pl. XIV, likewise fails to mention it.

initiation by Constantine of a number of building projects—a church at Antioch and churches and shrines in and around Jerusalem. He describes the church at Antioch as follows:

τῆδε μὲν ...

θεῖον τι καὶ μονογενὲς ἡρῆμα μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ καλλονῆς ἀφίερου-
μακροῖς ἔξωθεν περιβάλοις τὸν πάντα νεῶν περιλαβάνων, εἰσω δὲ τὸ
ἀνάκτορον εἰς ἀμήχανον ἑπαίρων ὕψος, ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ μὲν σχήματι
κατεποικίλλεν, οἴκοις δὲ τοῦτο πλείοσι ἐξέδραις τε ἐν κύκλῳ
περιστοιχισάμενος, παντοίοις ἐστεφάνου κάλλεσιν.

In that location ... he consecrated a church unique and wondrous for its size and beauty, surrounding the entire church externally with substantial enclosures. Inside he raised the shrine to an astounding height. He variegated it in the shape of an octahedron, encircling it with numerous chambers and *exedrae* (halls?), and ornamented it with all kinds of decorative features.¹⁰⁴

Within perhaps only a year he repeated this description, with minor variation, in his panegyric on the life of Constantine.¹⁰⁵

ἐφ' ἧς ... μονογενὲς τι ἡρῆμα ἐκκλησίας μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ καλλονῆς ἀφίερου, μακροῖς μὲν ἔξωθεν περιβάλοις τὸν πάντα νεῶν περιλαβών, εἰσω δὲ τὸν εὐκτῆριον οἶκον εἰς ἀμήχανον ἑπάρας ὕψος, ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ (μὲν) συνεστῶτα σχήματι, ἐν κύκλῳ ὑπερῶν τε καὶ καταγαίῳ χωρημάτων ἀπανταχόθεν περιστοιχισμένον, ὃν καὶ χρυσοῦ πλείονος ἀφθονία χαλκοῦ τε καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πολυτελοῦς ὕλης ἐστεφάνου κάλλεσιν.

There ... he consecrated a church wondrous for its size and beauty, surrounding the entire shrine externally with substantial enclosures. Inside he raised the church (lit. house of prayer) to an astounding height. It was constructed in an octahedral shape and encircled completely with chambers at gallery and ground level. He ornamented it with decorative features rich in an abundance of gold and bronze and all kinds of precious material.¹⁰⁶

Although construction appears to have begun in 326/7,¹⁰⁷ despite the impression given by Eusebius the church was not completed either at the

104. My trans., drawing on Drake's trans. and Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 111.

105. See Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, *Eusebius. Life of Constantine* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 9-12, who review current opinion, which points to a work possibly started before the *De laudibus Constantini* and in a continual state of revision up to Eusebius' death in 339.

106. My trans., based on Cameron and Hall's.

107. The *Chronicon* of Jerome, produced in 381, attributes the beginning of the 'golden' church at Antioch to 327. Cf. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5819, who likewise attributes the beginning of construction on the church to that year. At *Chron.* AM 5833, however, he locates the dedication of the church in 340/41 and then says that it took six years to build, having been founded by Constantine and completed and dedicated by

time of this second description or in Constantine's lifetime (d. 337). Rather, it was completed by his successor Constantius II (337-61) and dedicated in 341.¹⁰⁸ Eusebius himself died in 339, without knowledge of what the completed church looked like.¹⁰⁹ This raises the suspicion that his description is framed to suit the purposes of imperial panegyric rather than an architectural summary accurate in particular detail, although the variation between the two descriptions (from vague to slightly more concrete) may indicate that as construction progressed Eusebius acquired updated knowledge of developments. Whatever the case, without archaeological corroboration it is probably unwise to accept his description of the original church as historically accurate, as has been the case until now, and a more cautious approach is tentatively to adopt the general aspects of his description rather than the particular detail.¹¹⁰ That is, from his second description we can perhaps infer that the church was constructed on a central plan that incorporated a gallery, that the sanctuary-nave area was enclosed by a complex of rooms or ambulatories or courtyards, and that money was invested in some kind of decorative program. The question as to why this plan differs so radically from those of the other churches sponsored by Constantine remains. All of his other churches were variations on a basilica.¹¹¹ The

Constantius. This would locate the starting date c. 335. Either serious construction only got underway at that point or the six years is an error, since at this point he is most likely following the same source as the Syriac chronicle to 724, which claims that the church took fifteen years to complete. Socrates, *HE* 2.8.2, further complicates the matter by claiming that the dedication synod was held in the tenth year from the laying of the church's foundation. His figure locates the start of construction in 330. On the use by Jerome, Theophanes, the Syriac chronicle to 724 and Michael the Syrian of a common source see Richard W. Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography* (Historia Einzelschriften 135; Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 114-22, esp. pp. 117-19, and p. 158 (30.a-c). Burgess (p. 204) agrees with a date for the beginning of construction of 327.

108. Jerome, *Chron.* 280 olymp. 5.

109. Although see Sara Parvis, *Marcellus of Ancyra and the Lost Years of the Arian Controversy 325-345* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 148-50, who dates the beginning of the dedication synod to December 340 and the distribution of the invitations to the summer of 340, which may indicate that the church was already complete by summer 340. In that case it may have been sufficiently complete for Eusebius to provide an accurate description.

110. This is particularly the case when we consider that the now lost continuation of the Eusebian chronicle (*Continuatio Antiochenis Eusebii*), composed in Antioch or its vicinity in the second half of the fourth century (Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian Chronography*, pp. 123-28), appears to have described the church as σφαίροειδής (spherical/round). See the reconstructed text in Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian Chronography*, p. 170 (Olymp. 280 AD 341).

111. See Richard Krautheimer, 'The Ecclesiastical Building Policy of Constantine', in Giorgio Bonamente and Franco Fusco (eds.), *Constantino il grande dall'antichità all'umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico* (Macerata 18-20 dicembre 1990 (Macerata, 1993)), pp. 509-52, at pp. 514-18, who is unable to offer a satisfactory explanation.

degree to which Constantius contributed to the church's construction rather than simply putting the finishing touches to Constantine's plan is another question that has yet to be resolved and to which the answer may further undermine the degree of reliance that can be placed on Eusebius' description.¹¹² Theodoret (*HE* 3.12.4) refers to costly sacred vessels that had been supplied by Constantine and Constantius, but it is more likely that Constantine's name is attached for the same reasons that the construction of the church is attributed to him, and that the donation was made by Constantius.

Much of the detail that has traditionally been attributed to the church from other sources is also less certain than has been supposed. Malalas (*Chron.* 13.17) preserves an inscription, which he thought commemorated the completion of the Great Church under Constantius II, but this has now been identified as referring to a church completed some ten years later by Gallus Caesar.¹¹³ Homilies of John Chrysostom which allude to a high ceiling or amazing roof (*De mutatione nominum hom. 2. In illud: Si esurierit inimicus*, *In Gen. hom. 6.*), traditionally adduced in corroboration of Eusebius' assertion that the ceiling rose to an astonishing height or to show that the floor was paved with stone slabs,¹¹⁴ are of far less certain provenance than has been supposed.¹¹⁵ *In Eph. hom. 10.*, likewise preached by him and thought to indicate not only that the roof was wooden but also that the building's decorative program included statues, marbles and columns,¹¹⁶ is not only of uncertain provenance but the passage usually cited uses the example of how people react to a burning house (where concrete detail is supplied) as an extended comparison for the current state of the church (as a body of believers). No physical church building is referred to nor is one implied. Equally insecure is the traditional situation of the church in 'the new city', the quarter built on the island in the Orontes, where it is thought to have been located next to the imperial palace.¹¹⁷ This relies on dated arguments about the close

112. Nick Henck, 'Constantius ὁ Φιλοκτιστής', *DOP* 55 (2001), pp. 279-304 at p. 296, finds it probable, given his extensive building program, that Constantius contributed significantly to its construction.

113. See 2.6 Church completed under Gallus Caesar, pp. 116-17.

114. See Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 344-45; Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 112.

115. See Wendy Mayer, 'The Sequence and Provenance of John Chrysostom's Homilies *In illud: Si esurierit inimicus* (CPG 4375), *De mutatione nominum* (CPG 4372) and *In principium Actorum* (CPG 4371)', *Augustinianum* 46 (2006), pp. 169-86. *In Gen. hom. 6* supplies no internal evidence of its provenance and the reference to the beautiful ceiling has been interpreted by at least one scholar as referring to the Great Church at Constantinople (see Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom*, p. 174 n. 670).

116. See Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 344-45; and Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 112.

117. See Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 346-48; and Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 149-51 and p. 320 pl. XIV.

association between such churches and imperial palaces at supposedly comparable sites (Constantinople, Salona, Thessalonica and Ravenna)¹¹⁸ and on the identification of the polygonal building depicted in the topographical border of the Yakto mosaic as the Great Church.¹¹⁹ The questionable nature of both of these hypotheses, long since treated as fact, has been demonstrated persuasively by Deichmann, although surprisingly little attention has been paid to his arguments.¹²⁰

Also dubious is the interpretation of the record in Theophanes (AM 5878, AD 385/86) of the construction in 386 of a small basilica as an addition to the Great Church, built as a thank-offering for the imperial pardon of Antioch following the riots of 387.¹²¹ Firstly, Theophanes attributes the event to the year prior to the riots (385/86). Secondly, the phrase ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ is best interpreted as 'in the old city', so that the entry reads: 'A small basilica was also built in the old city near the big basilica'. Thirdly, the Great Church was not basilical in form but rather to all appearances modelled on a central plan. Theophanes in fact as often refers to the Great Church as 'the octagonal church' or 'the domed church'. In only one confirmed instance does he employ the label 'the Great Church' itself (see Labels below). A perceived reference to and partial description of the Great Church in an oration of Libanius (Or. 1.39, 41) has recently been dismissed by Raimondi, who argues that the building in question is rather the mausoleum of Constantine at Constantinople.¹²² Finally, Downey's attribution to the church of a 'little colonnade of the summer secretariat' (τῷ στοιδίῳ τοῦ θερινοῦ σηκρήτου), based on the record of a synod presided over by the bishop Domnus at Antioch in 444 CE, cannot be applied to the Great Church with absolute certainty. The preamble to the acts of the synod states simply that it was held in the most holy church of Antioch (ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἁγιοτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ).

118. See Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias'; Grabar, *Martyrium*; and Wayne Dynes, 'The First Christian Palace-church Type', *Marsyas* 11 (1962-64), pp. 1-9.

119. See our discussion of the border in the Introduction, pp. 22-24.

120. Now supported by Saliou, 'À propos de la ταυριανὴ πόλη'.

121. Ed. De Boor I, p. 70.11-12 (trans. Mango and Scott, p. 106): ἐπεκτίσθη δὲ καὶ μικρὰ βασιλικὴ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ πλησίον τῆς μεγάλης. See Downey, *Antioch*, p. 434.

122. Milena Raimondi, 'Bemarchio di Cesarea, panegirista di Costantino e Costantinopoli. Per una reinterpretazione di Libanio, Or. 1.39: 41', *Rivista storica dell'Antichità* 33 (2003), pp. 171-99. See also David Woods, 'Libanius, Bemarchius, and the Mausoleum of Constantine I', in Carl Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 13 (Collection Latomus 301; Brussels, 2006), pp. 428-39, who arrives at the same conclusion.

In reality little evidence exists which might with any precision locate the Great Church within the city of Antioch.¹²³ Malalas (*Chron.* 13.3) situates the church on the site of a worn-out public bath, named after the emperor Philip,¹²⁴ which was demolished in the 320s for the purpose.¹²⁵ The bath is mentioned by no other source and any thought that this might exclude the 'new city' on the island in the Orontes on the grounds that that quarter was developed only in the time of Diocletian (284-305) must be dismissed. The baths excavated in that area of the city display levels of use that extend as far back as the first century CE.¹²⁶ Theodoret (*HE* 5.35.4) refers to a procession to a building that is most likely the Great Church (it is described as τοῦ μεγίστου νεῶ) that took place during the episcopate at Antioch of Alexander (414-24). At the time as the crowd moved from the western gate to the church it filled the entire agora with people. Downey takes this to mean that the Great Church stood on an open square,¹²⁷ but if the movement is along the main colonnaded street of the city from the gate at the bridge which led into the city from the roads to Seleucia and Alexandretta, then the procession would naturally have passed through the main agora or forum if its destination was anywhere north of the intersection with the stream called Parmenius. Antioch in any case had more than one forum and consequently the reference is less helpful than it might otherwise have been.¹²⁸

In the second half of the fifth century the church still enjoyed considerable status at Antioch. The earliest recension of the Syriac *Life* (V) of Symeon Stylites the Elder, which dates to April 473 CE, asserts that on arrival at Antioch the body of Symeon (d. 459) was buried in the Great

123. Poccardi, 'Antioche de Syrie', pp. 1009-1012, enters into an elaborate interpretation of the section of the Yakto mosaic which contains the alleged image of the Great Church, believing that that section of the mosaic is a pictorial survey of the main buildings on the island in the Orontes (the 'new city'). His interpretation rests, however, on a circular argument (namely that the church was situated next to the palace, the palace was on the island in the Orontes, therefore if this section of the mosaic contains a depiction of the church, the building next to it must be the palace, and this section of the mosaic must depict the structures on the island).

124. Possibly Philip the Arab (244-49).

125. As Malalas also locates Constantine at Antioch, which he never visited, it is uncertain how reliable the detail is in this instance, although it may be that Malalas simply has Constantine visiting Antioch to elevate its status.

126. See Clarence S. Fisher, 'Bath A', in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* I, pp. 4-7; 'Bath B, House A and the Roman Villa', in *ibid.*, pp. 8-18; 'Bath C', in *ibid.*, pp. 19-31. Regarding the 'new city' see Church I. In the New (City), pp. 55-56.

127. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 347.

128. Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 621-40, details evidence for a Hellenistic agora and Forum of Valens in Epiphaneia in addition to the original agora beside the Orontes, constructed by Seleucus Nicator.

Church, and implies that at the time that the *Life* was written his body was still to be found there.¹²⁹

They burnt incense and lit candles, they strewed precious spices before him upon all the people who had accompanied him. They chanted psalms and spiritual hymns before him until he entered and was placed in the holy and great church which Constantine ... had built. This had not happened to any of the saints, either ancient or contemporary. For no one had previously of the been laid in the great church, neither one of the prophets nor one of the apostles nor one of the martyrs. The blessed Mar Simeon was the first to be buried in the great church. The bishop of Antioch, head of the bishops, and all his clergy each day as a mark of distinction sing and chant spiritual songs before him. Great silver censers of incense are placed before him continually, while every minute excellent perfumes and chosen spices rise up ...¹³⁰

That this is the first occasion on which a body had been deposited in the church since its completion in 341 CE is of considerable interest when we consider the markedly different history of the Church of St Babylas.¹³¹ Symeon's body was removed at some stage between 473 and the 530s, on the completion of a martyrium dedicated to the saint at Antioch.¹³²

The church was considered old by the early sixth century. In a homily preached on the anniversary of the church's dedication Severus asks the audience to reflect on the antiquity of the wood and stone (*Hom.* 112). The building received substantial damage in the earthquake of 526. Malalas (*Chron.* 17.16) claims that the church withstood the initial shock for seven days, but then succumbed to fire, as a result of which it was reduced to its foundations.¹³³ This is the last date for which we have reliable evidence concerning the church. It is widely assumed that the church was rebuilt during the reign of Justinian under Bishop Ephrem (527-44) on the basis of the testimonies of Zachariah of Mytilene and Evagrius. Evagrius, reporting on the effects of the earthquake of 588, discusses the fate of the dome of 'the most holy church' (τὴν ἁγιοτάτην ἐκκλησίαν). This church collapsed to the ground with the exception of its dome. The latter, he indicates, had been fashioned by Ephrem from timber from Daphne after it suffered during the earthquake of 526. Subsequent tremors had

tilted the dome towards the north so that beams were applied to exert counter-pressure. During the quake of 588 the timbers fell down and the tremors shifted the dome back to its original position. Zachariah talks of the rebuilding of a church at Antioch under Ephrem that was round in form and that had four triclinia attached. The church was completed in 538 and a substantial number of bishops were summoned for its dedication.¹³⁴ Sponsored by Justinian, Ephrem presided over the rebuilding of a number of churches at Antioch following the 526 earthquake, including the Church of Michael the Archangel and the Church of the Theotokos. In this light, it cannot be taken for granted that either of the churches referred to by Evagrius or Zachariah is the Great Church.

A further perceived reference to the Great Church occurs at the time of the Persian attack on Antioch in 540 CE. Procopius describes Khuro descending from an elevated area (ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας) to the shrine they call a church (εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ... ὅπερ ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσιν). There he found vast stores of gold and silver and also removed from inside a large quantity of ornamental marble, which he had placed outside the wall (ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου) for later collection. When Khuro gave the command to burn the city, the ambassadors asked him to spare the church, which he then did. After the Persian troops had set fire to the city only this church and a large number of houses around the quarter called Kerateion (which lay at the far end of the city and were not joined to other buildings) survived the fire that was set inside the walls. Evagrius (*HE* 4.25) inserts Antioch's bishop, Ephrem, into the story, on the basis of claims that he saved the church (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) and everything around it by decorating it with holy dedications (ἀναθήματα) as a ransom. Because in both accounts the church goes unnamed, identification is reliant on the value of the church to the city, its location inside the walls, and the degree of wealth associated with it. Even in combination, however, these features are insufficiently concrete for an identification of the building as the Great Church to be certain. If Evagrius is correct, more than just the church survived, which questions whether the conflagration attributed to the Persians by Procopius was as catastrophic as he asserts, and the wealth the church contained was not permanent but temporarily shifted there for the purposes of saving it. In any case the Church of the Theotokos,¹³⁵ newly built under Ephrem and Justinian is said to have been substantially endowed and lavishly decorated, while the Church of Cassian contained at the very least a robe of Justinian, if not other treasures.¹³⁶ At this time the

129. In Syriac there survive three different recensions of the *Life* of Symeon (V, B, and M). M shows awareness of the tradition preserved by Antony, and both B and M show some indication of later composition, while V provides a colophon which dates that version to 17 April 473. Doran bases his translation on V.

130. Trans. Doran, p. 193.

131. See Babylas, St, Church of, pp. 32-49.

132. See the discussion at Symeon Stylites the Elder, *Martyrium* ed. pp. 104-107.

133. The later chronographers and historians, such as John Malalas, in the main derive their information on the destruction of the Great Church from Malalas.

134. See 2.3 Rebuilding of a church (sixth century), p. 114.

135. See Theotokos, Church of, pp. 107-109.

136. See Cassian, Church of, pp. 52-55.

Great Church is clearly not the only church inside the walled city that had status and that would have richly rewarded looters.

Labels

The church is identified in the sources in a variety of ways. The *Chronicon* of Jerome (381) calls it the 'golden church' (*dominicum aureum*). In the title to the homily of John Chrysostom *In illud: In faciem ei restiti*, delivered in the last decades of the fourth century, it is called the 'new church', in contrast to the Old Church or Palaia.¹³⁷ Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the late fourth century, is the first to refer to it as the 'the great/larger church' (*maiores ecclesiam Antiochiaie*), a title which Theodoret (*HE* 3.12.1) also adopts ('the great church, which Constantine built'). In the mid-sixth century Malalas likewise refers to it consistently as the 'great church'.¹³⁸ Evagrius, on the other hand, who writes his history at the close of the sixth century, rarely mentions it and never names it. In the 640s the Syriac chronicle to 724 identifies it as the 'domed' (*σφαίροειδής*) church, a description repeated in the ninth century by Theophanes (*AM* 5833), who earlier describes the church as the 'octagonal church' (*τὸ ὀκτάγωνον κυριακόν*) (*AM* 5819). Theophanes appears to be adopting the labels used by his sources in both instances. The latter description can only have been derived ultimately from Eusebius, since the church itself had long since ceased to exist by that time, while in the former case there are sufficient similarities to make it probable that he used the same source as the Syriac chronicle.¹³⁹ In only one instance does he refer to it as the 'great church' (*τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν*; *AM* 5854).¹⁴⁰

137. John N.D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom—Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London, 1995), p. 57, on the other hand, considers it a church distinct from the Great Church and proposes that it be identified as a recent building in the suburbs. The proimion of the homily contradicts this and is consistent with an identification of the 'new church' as the Great Church.

138. Like Theodoret, at *Chron.* 17.16 he identifies it as 'the great church, built by Emperor Constantine the Great'. The Syriac *Life* (V) of Symeon Stylites the Elder, written in 473 CE, identifies it in much the same way. See also the Greek *Vita Pelagiae* 16 (Petitmengen et al. I, p. 83), which refers to it as 'the Great Church'.

139. See Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813* (Oxford, 1997), p. 61 n. 5, who discuss the inconsistencies in the entry for *AM* 5833 and speculate that Theophanes may have changed from one source to another without reconciling the duplications and discrepancies. Michael the Syrian adopts the same description in the Syriac chronicle to 724. See Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian Chronography*, pp. 127–31 and p. 128 (head) for the argument that Theophanes, the Syriac chronicle and Malalas all employ a common source. Burgess (p. 238) also discusses the 'new church' account, with a slightly different conclusion.

140. The *Passio Artemii* 37, which describes the destruction of the church, in describing the same episode (the closure of the church) as the 'great church' following the

Much has been made in the past of the label *Μετάνοια εἰς τὸν Μόσχον* ('Repentance at the calf'), found in a single manuscript of the Greek *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Elder attributed to Antony,¹⁴¹ and of the title *Concordia* ('harmony') found as an alternative to *Poenitentia* ('repentance') in a Latin version of the same *Life*.¹⁴² As indicated in the discussion on the sources for the Martyrium of Symeon Stylites the Elder (see below), the *Life* by Antony is at the earliest a seventh-century text, which presents a version of events more suited to a later Antiochene perspective. A unique label in this source would thus be suspect, even if it were not found in just a single manuscript. A Latin translation derived from that unique branch of the manuscript stemma, which in turn supplies its own alternative reading, must thus be even later in date and carry with it an even greater degree of suspicion. Were it not for the desire of earlier scholars to identify the polygonal building in the border of the Yakto mosaic as the Great Church,¹⁴³ no weight would have been given to this family of labels.¹⁴⁴

Role

Theodoret (*HE* 3.12.1) records that in the time of the emperor Julian (361–63) the church was in the possession of the homoian Christian community. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the late fourth century, confirms Theodoret's claim that Julian had the church nailed shut and banned entry to it in retaliation for the burning down of the temple of Apollo at Daphne. Theodoret later says (*HE* 4.24.4) that Jovian (363–64), who briefly succeeded Julian, had given to the Nicene Christians under Meletius' leadership in addition the 'newly built church' (*τὴν νεόδμητον ἐκκλησίαν*). The reference is either to the Great Church (completed in 341) or to a church constructed during the tenure of Antioch of the caesar Gallus (351–54).¹⁴⁵ On succeeding to the throne Valens (364–78)

translation of Babylas from Daphne), likewise uses the label 'Great Church', suggesting that they may have employed a common source.

141. See Lietzmann, p. 77.10.

142. See Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias'; Grabar, *Martyrium*; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 345–48; Dynes, 'The First Christian Palace-church Type'; and Krautheimer, *Architecture*.

143. For the connection drawn between the letters *PIANA* located in the Yakto border near the polygonal building, the putative bridge at Antioch called Ταπεινή and the phrase *εἰς τὸν Μόσχον* see Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 258–63, repeated in the phrase *εἰς τὸν Μόσχον* see Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias'; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 347–48, and Dynes, 'The First Christian Palace-church Type'.

144. Friedrich W. Deichmann, 'Das Oktogon von Antiochia: Heroon-Martyrium, Palastkirche oder Kathedrale?', *BZ* 65 (1972), pp. 40–56 at pp. 50–51, also puts forward a convincing argument for its dismissal.

145. On the latter church see 2.6 Church completed under Gallus Caesar, pp. 110–11.

drove that Nicene community from their churches, possession of which presumably returned to the homoian community.¹⁴⁶ In the second decade of the fifth century, during the episcopate at Antioch of Alexander (414-24), Theodoret (*HE* 5.35.4) records that the Great Church (τοῦ μεγίστου ναοῦ) was the destination of a major procession, held at Antioch as part of the celebrations over the union after more than half a century of the two Nicene communities. The crowd, chanting hymns in unison, filed from the western gate to the church, in the process filling the entire agora with people. Between at least 459 and 473 celebration of St Symeon Stylites the Elder was added to the liturgy conducted in the church. According to the *Syriac Life* (V) in the initial days this included daily hymns by the bishop and clergy and incense rising from two silver censers placed in front of the body. In the second decade of the sixth century Severus of Antioch preached at least four sermons in the church, two during Lent (24 February 513, 12 February 517), one at Easter (7 April 513), and another on the anniversary of its dedication. On the latter occasion the inaugural letter (*synodicon*) of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, was read out.

The *Syriac Life of Pelagia*, of which the earliest manuscript dates from the early eighth century (708 CE),¹⁴⁷ adds some few details concerning the Great Church. These are not found in the Greek recension, although the Syriac usually confirms the antiquity of the Greek. The Syriac version identifies as belonging to the Great Church the church steward (τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἐκκλησίας) to whom Pelagia's fortune is entrusted immediately following her baptism (*V. Pel.* 39). Earlier in the account (*V. Pel.* 16) the visiting bishops join the bishop of Antioch and his clergy on Sunday for the liturgy in the Great Church. There the entry of the clergy to the *synthronon* (Gr. τὸ πρεσβυτέριον) at a customary juncture in the liturgy is mentioned, as well as an invitation at this point to the eight visiting bishops to enter the *naos* (nave). The lacuna in the Greek at this point is filled in by the Syriac, which has the visiting bishops entering the *naos* and sitting down on the *bema*, each in the place appropriate to the status of his see. After the completion of the office and the reading of the Gospel, the Gospel book is sent by the presiding bishop (the Syr. adds: 'via his archdeacon') to the visiting bishop Nonnus, as indication that he had the bishop's permission to preach. Whether the additional detail has been inserted into the Syriac version to reflect local custom or has been

146. See Soz., *HE* 4.2.5-7 and 4.17 (Hansen, pp. 234 and 246); Soz., *HE* 6.21.1 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 263).

147. See Petitmengin et al., I, pp. 286-8 for the dating of the *synodicon*.

dropped from the surviving Greek text because it made no sense in a later setting, it is of interest that the *synthronon* and *bema* described are consistent with the U-shaped *bema* located at the centre of two other central-plan churches at Antioch: the Church of St Babylas and the Church found in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria.¹⁴⁸

Sources: Eusebius of Caesarea, *De laudibus Constantini* 9.15 (Ivar A. Heikel [ed.], *Eusebius Werke* 1. *Über das Leben Constantins*, Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung, Tricennatsrede an Constantin [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 7; Leipzig, 1902], p. 221; trans. Harold A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine. A Historical Study and New Translation of Eusebius' Tricennal Orations* [Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1975], p. 101), *Vita Constantini* 3.50 (Friedhelm Winkelmann [ed.], *Eusebius Werke* 1.1. *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin* [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 57; Berlin, 1975], p. 105; trans. Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, *Eusebius. Life of Constantine* [Oxford, 1999], p. 141); Jerome, *Chron.* 276 olymp. 21 and 280 olymp. 5 (Rudolf Helm [ed.], *Eusebius Werke* 7. *Die Chronik des Hieronymus. Hieronymi Chronicon* [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Eusebius 7; Berlin, 1984], pp. 231-32, 235); John Chrys., *In illud: In faciem ei restiti* (PG 51, 371-72); Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 22.13.2 (Jacques Fontaine [ed.], *Ammianus Marcellin. Histoire*, vol. 3 [Paris, 1996], p. 129); *Acta synod. Antioch.* 444 CE (Mansi 7, p. 325); Soz., *HE* 2.8.2 (Hansen, p. 97); Soz., *HE* 3.5.1 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 105); Theod., *HE* 3.12.1-4, 4.24.4, 5.35.4 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 188-89, 262-63, 337-38); *Vita Sym. Syr.* (V) 125-26 (trans. Doran, pp. 192-93); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 16 (PO 38/2, p. 438), *Hom.* 23 (PO 37/1, p. 115), *Hom.* 105 (PO 25/4, p. 644), *Hom.* 112 (PO 25/4, pp. 795-96); Malalas, *Chron.* 13.3, 17.16 (Thurn, pp. 244, 347; trans. Jeffreys et al., pp. 172-73, 239); Procopius, *De bello persico* 2.9.14-16, 2.10.6-9 (Jacobus Haury [ed.], *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, 4 vols [Leipzig, 2001], pp. 192-94); Evagrius, *HE* 4.25, 6.8 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 172, 227; trans. Whitby, pp. 223, 298); *Syr. Chron.* 724 a. 884 (Brooks, p. 130; trans. Chabot, p. 102); *Vita Pelagiae* Gr. 16, 39 (Petitmengin et al., I, pp. 83, 89); *Vita Pelagiae* Syr. 16, 39 (trans. Sebastian Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* [The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 13; Berkeley, 1987], pp. 46-47, 56);¹⁴⁹ John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 90.24-30 (Zotenberg, p. 151; trans. Charles, pp. 135-36); *Passio Artemii* 57 (Bonifatius Kotter [ed.], *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 5. *Opera homiletica et hagiographica* [PTS 29; Berlin, 1988], p. 234; trans. Samuel N. C. Lieu and Dominic Montserrat [eds.], *From Constantine*

148. See Babylas, St. Church of, p. 33 and Church 4. In Seleucia Pieria, pp. 60-61.

149. For the Syriac text of the oldest ms., Sinai, St Catherine, Cod. Syr. 30, see first the text of British Library, Add. 14651, edited by Johann Gildemeister in 1879 and reproduced by Paul Bedjan 6, pp. 616-49, to which Agnes Smith Lewis published the variants in the Sinai ms. in 1900 (vol. I, Appendix 3).

to Julian: *Pagan and Byzantine Views. A Source History* [London, 1996], p. 247; Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5819, AD 326/27, AM 5833, AD 340/41, AM 5854, AD 361/62, and AM 5878, AD 385/86 (De Boor I, pp. 28, 36, 50, 70; trans. Mango and Scott, pp. 45, 60, 80, 106); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 7.4 (Chabot 4, p. 135; Chabot I, p. 270).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', pp. 61–62, 66; Adalbert Birnbaum, 'Die Oktogone von Antiochia, Nazianz und Nyssa. Rekonstruktionsversuche', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 36 (1913), pp. 181–208 at pp. 181–91; Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 251–70; Grabar, *Martyrium* 1, 91; Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 251–70; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 336 n. 82, 342–49, 358–59, 388, 396, 399, pp. 434, 457, 467, 481, 511, 522, 533, 544, 552, 568, 622, 650–53, 661–63; Dynes, 'The First Christian Palace-church Type', Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pp. 52–54, 167; Frans van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiochia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts* (OCA 187; Rome, 1970), pp. 3–8; Deichmann, 'Das Oktogon von Antiochia', Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', pp. 109–14; Cyril Mango, 'The Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople and the Alleged Tradition of Octagonal Palatine Churches', *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 21 (1972), pp. 189–93 at p. 193; Poccardi, 'Antiochia de Syrie'; Saliou, 'À propos de la ταυριανή πόλη'; Henck, 'Constantius', esp. pp. 295–97; Raimondi, 'Bemarchio'; de Rotten, *Baptême et mystagoge*, pp. 222–23; Woods, 'Libanius, Bemarchius, and the Mausoleum'; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 149–50.

Holy Prophets, Church of the

In the sixteenth chapter of Book 17, Thurn, editor of the most recent edition of the *Chronographia* of John Malalas, restores from the Slavonic detail that is missing in the Greek manuscripts in regard to the effects of the earthquake of 526 CE on the city of Antioch. The Greek, which describes the devastation of martyria and monasteries as absolute, mentions only the Great Church by name, claiming that it withstood the initial shock only to be burnt to the ground a number of days later. The Slavonic text adds that the great Church of Michael the Archangel and Church of the Virgin Mary both suffered the same fate, along with the Church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias. While the Church of St Zacharias is mentioned in no other source, the Churches of Michael the Archangel and the Theotokos are attested elsewhere, and an allusion to a Church of the Holy Prophets in Antioch at this time is preserved in the ninth century by Photius. Photius lists seven panegyric orations of Ephrem (526–44), the bishop of Antioch who presided over the reconstruction program under Justinian (527–65)

in the decades following the earthquake. Among them is an encomium delivered on the dedication festival of the Holy Prophets (τὰ ἑκαταὶνὰ τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν). That this is a Church of the Holy Prophets and not simply a festival dedicated to them is indicated by the fifth panegyric listed ('on the dedication festival of the Archangel Michael in Daphne'). The latter refers to a specific location,¹⁵⁰ rather than to the general cult. The title to the homily and the period in which it was delivered suggest that the church was among those rebuilt in the time of Justinian.

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16 (Thurn, p. 347; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 239); Photius, *Bibl.* 228 (Henry, René [ed.], Photius, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 4 [Paris, 2003], p. 125).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 522.

Ignatius, St, Church of

Prior to the reign of Theodosius II (408–50) the relics of Ignatius, one of the earliest bishops of Antioch, lay in the cemetery near the road to Daphne, where his festival was celebrated until the early decades of the fifth century (see Koimeterion). During his reign, Theodosius II had the relics translated into the city itself, where they were placed in the former Tycheum (temple to Antioch's Fortune), which he had had converted into a shrine dedicated to Ignatius. Severus preached a number of homilies in the church, two of which are dated to 513 and 516. In these homilies he concentrates not on Ignatius, but on Sts Basil and Gregory (Nazianzen). At the conclusion to *Homily* 37 Severus explains that Basil and Gregory's emulation of Ignatius is the reason why he has had the people assemble in this particular house of prayer. That Severus turned this association into a tradition in his brief time as bishop is indicated by the title to *Homily* 84, another encomium on Basil and Gregory delivered in 516 'according to custom' in the martyrion of St Ignatius. Ignatius' own festival was also celebrated there in his time (*Hom.* 65) and continued to be commemorated up until at least the time of Evagrius at the end of the sixth century. Evagrius adds that in the latter part of that century the festival was given a more prominent status by his bishop, Gregory (570–93).¹⁵¹

151. Although see Lackner, 'Die Translation der Ignatius-Reliquien', who considers the festival enhanced by Gregory to be that of the translation of Ignatius' relics to the Tycheum, rather than the annual commemoration of Ignatius. Ignatius' relics were removed from the martyrion at some point (thought to be the sixth or seventh century) and translated once again to Rome (Lackner, pp. 287–88). The date of this third translation is, however, uncertain.

150. See Michael the Archangel 2, Church of, in *Daphne*, pp. 105–106.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 9 (PO 38/2, p. 337), *Hom.* 37 (PO 36/3, p. 485), *Hom.* 65 (PO 8/2, pp. 327-28), *Hom.* 84 (PO 23/1, p. 7); Evagrius, *HE* 1.16 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 25-26; trans. Whitby, p. 42).
 Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', p. 125; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 455; Wolfgang Lackner, 'Zu einem bislang unbekannten Bericht über die Translation der Ignatius-Reliquien nach Antiochien', *VC* 22 (1968), pp. 287-94; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 340; Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, p. 101; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153.

John

1. Church of John the Baptist

A church of John the Baptist situated 'in front of the gates' of Antioch plays a prominent role in the life of Symeon Stylites the Younger.¹⁵² It is first mentioned when his mother, Martha, goes to the church to pray to John the Baptist for help, when she is being urged by her parents to marry. She next seeks out the church when trying to achieve pregnancy, where she supplicates the saint with tears, practises xerophagy (that is, eats nothing but bread, water and salt) and sleeps on the floor for several days. She is rewarded with a vision and awakes with a ball of gum (στυράξ) in her hand, with which she has been told to perfume the church. She throws herself at the *bema* with more tears, and in response takes a censer and uses up the bulk of the ball of gum throughout the rest of the day. She sleeps there another night, finds the ball of gum in her hand replenished, censes the church again, and so on. Eventually she receives another vision, goes to her house (said to be situated inside the Dandalian gate of Antioch) and conceives. Forty days after Symeon is born she returns to the Church of John the Baptist with the infant and makes an offering there on his behalf. At the age of two he is baptized in the same church. At the age of five, during the earthquake of 526, when the child cannot be found by Martha, John the Baptist reveals to her his location and, after being reunited with him, they go to the Church of John the Baptist, where the mother gives thanks in prayer. No further reference to the church occurs in the *Life*, largely because the focus of the story subsequently shifts from Antioch towards Seleucia Pieria and the site of Symeon's monastery.

¹⁵² On the basis of this topographical detail Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153, locates the church at the south-east end of the city. There were numerous gates to the city, however, and the church could equally have been situated on the west bank of the river or in the northern suburbs of the city. Alpi further locates Severus, *Homilies* 32 and 61, delivered on the feast of John the Baptist there, but without thereby providing evidence of the location of its delivery.

Although Downey distinguishes the two, it is possible, as Todt assumes, that this church and the Church of St John below are identical. Because of the different character of the two sources in which reference to each appears, however, this is difficult to establish.

Sources: *Vita Sym. iun.* 1-3, 5, 7 (Van den Ven 1, pp. 3-9).
 Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 657; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 340; Todt, *Region* 2, pp. 603-604 and 797-98 Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153.

2. Church of St John

A church or martyrion of St John is mentioned by Malalas in his account of certain events of public unrest that took place at Antioch in 507, during the reign of the emperor Anastasius (491-518). This is the same year that the synagogue in Daphne was burnt down. Rioters of the Green faction at Antioch, under the threat of arrest by the *praefectus vigilium*, sought refuge at St John's outside the city. On hearing this the *praefectus vigilium* took a force of Goths and entered the church, found one of the rioters under the altar, killed him, dragged the body from the sanctuary, cut off the head, set off towards Antioch, and on reaching the bridge across the Orontes, threw the head into the river. When the Green faction found out shortly after, they went out to St John's, retrieved the body and re-entered the city. The sequence of movement from the church towards Antioch that led them to come to the bridge might be thought to suggest that the church lay across the Orontes from the city, but the Greek is unclear and it is just as possible that the prefect and guards entered the city and kept going until they came to the bridge. It all depends on whether one interprets the disposal of the head in the Orontes as opportunistic or intentional. That it may have been intentional is suggested by the precedent set for the contemptuous disposal of a body in the Orontes c. 480 when the Antiochene bishop Stephen was murdered at the martyrion of St Barlaam (see Barlaam, St, Martyrium of).

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 16.6 (Thurn, pp. 324-25; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 223).
 Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 506, 623, 657; Todt, *Region* 2, pp. 797-98.

Julian, St Martyrium of

Although John Chrysostom preaches a homily on a festival of St Julian at Antioch some time in the last decades of the fourth century (386-97), indicating that relics of the saint were held there,¹⁵³ it is uncertain

¹⁵³ See the discussion in Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 126-28.

whether at this time there was a specific church dedicated to the saint, Theodoret, writing in the 440s, suggests rather that in his time Julian's relics were housed in a common martyrium (see Koimeterion). He claims that the ascetics Theodosius and Macedonius were both buried in the tomb of the martyrs (εἰς τὸν τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων σηκόν). Theodosius in particular was deposited in the same coffin that housed the ascetic Aphraat and is said to have had Julian as a neighbour and fellow-lodger. Macedonius' body was deposited with those of Theodosius and Aphraat.

By the sixth century a church known as that of St Julian appears to have been in existence. The evidence supplied by Severus of Antioch is ambiguous. In a lengthy sermon delivered on the festival of Julian he alludes to the fact that the location at which he is preaching contained a limb of the martyr and was situated 'like a large and powerful rock' in front of the gates of the city's walls. Whether this describes the Koimeterion or a building separately dedicated to the cult of Julian is uncertain. Malalas records that in 529 (only three years before the completion of his first edition of the *Chronographia*)¹⁵⁴ the relics of the martyr Marinus were discovered in Syria Prima outside of the city of Gindarus. From there they were brought to Antioch and deposited outside of the city 'in St Julian's'.¹⁵⁵ Earlier, in his account of the aftermath of the earthquake of 526, Malalas mentions by name a *silentiarius*, Thomas, who robbed those who fled Antioch at the time of the disaster. He is described as living two or three miles outside the city at the gate called St Julian's. Procopius claims that at the time of the Persian attack on Antioch (540) Khusro's army set fire to the area outside the walls except for the church (ἐκόν) of St Julian and the buildings surrounding it. They were spared because the ambassadors were housed there. When the pilgrim from Piacenza visited Antioch c. 570 St Julian is listed as a significant attraction. The last we hear of the church is in 573, when the Persians under the command of the general Adormaanēs again attacked Antioch and set fire to its suburbs. Gregory of Tours asserts that on this occasion the Church of St Julian (*basilica sancti Iuliani Antiochenensis martyris*) was burnt to the ground, an event also recorded in the Syriac chronicle that extends to 724, produced in 640.¹⁵⁶

154. See Croke, 'Dating', pp. 18–20.

155. Michael the Syrian repeats Malalas' account without variation.

156. Theophylact Simocatta, *Hist. 5.10.8* (trans. Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *The History of Theophylact Simocatta. An English Translation with Introduction and Notes* (Oxford, 1986), p. 88), writing during the reign of Heraclius (610–641), says simply that Adormaanēs destroyed the magnificent buildings outside the city.

One further reference to a martyrium of Julian occurs in the *Life of Pelagia*, a text that is difficult to date and from which it is equally difficult to sift out fact from fiction. There the bishop of Antioch (unnamed) calls a synod of neighbouring bishops. When the eight arrive they are told to stay in the Martyrium of St Julian (the Syriac version has them lodge in its hostel).¹⁵⁷ As they wait around, the bishops emerge from their cells and sit on chairs next to the gate of the martyrium. No other detail about the martyrium is supplied.

Sources: John Chrys., *In s. Iulianum* (PG 50, 665–76; trans. Mayer in Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 129–40); Theodoret, *Hist. rel.* 10.8 (Theodosius), 13.19 (Macedonius) (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, pp. 450, 508; trans. Price, pp. 92, 107); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 75 (PO 12/1, p. 131); Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16, 18.49 (Thurn, pp. 348, 379–80; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, pp. 240, 265); Procopius, *De bello persico* 2.10.7–8 (Haury 1, p. 194); *Anton. plac. itin.* (CCSL 175, pp. 153, 174); Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* 4.40 (Bruno Krusch [ed.], *MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. I, Part I, Fasc. I [Hannover, 1937], p. 172); *Vita Pelagiae* gr. 3 (Petitmengin *et al.* 1, pp. 77–78); Syr. *Chron.* 724 a. 884 (Brooks, p. 145; trans. Chabot, p. 112); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 9.24 (Chabot 4, p. 287; Chabot 2, pp. 206–207).

Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', p. 279; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 544–45, 561–62; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 340; Todt, *Region 2*, pp. 798–99; Allen, 'Welcoming Foreign Saints', pp. 13–15; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153.

Justinian, Church of

see Church of the Theotokos

Kaoussie (Qausiyeh), Church at

see Babylas, St, Church of

Kerateion, Church in

See Maccabees I. Church of

Koimeterion

Little that is concrete is known about this site. The label κοιμητήριον (cemetery) appears to have served a triple function at Antioch in the fourth century. It was attached to an area at Antioch set aside for local

157. See trans. by Brock and Harvey, p. 42.

burials that, according to the literature, lay outside the gate situated at the south-western end of the main colonnaded street that bisected the city and was situated near the road to Daphne.¹⁵⁸ The excavations of the city and was situated near the road to Daphne. The excavations of the 1930s confirm burials near the southern end of the city, some 500-700 m to the right of the Daphne gate (fig. 4 nos 28-30 [24-I-K]). This same area was associated by inhabitants of the city with the cult of certain martyrs and saints. Whether each of these burials was housed in its own small chapel or martyrium or whether their annual festival was celebrated outdoors at an unembellished tomb is unknown. Also unclear is whether the site was employed as the main cemetery at Antioch.¹⁵⁹ If this is the case, then martyrs were simply buried there along with every other deceased inhabitant. As they were identified and distinguished from the other burials, so a cult grew up around them. In his homily on St Drosis John Chrysostom refers to passing other burials to reach those of the martyrs. Thirdly, it was employed to describe a specific building at this same site that housed multiple martyr burials and was used for the celebration of their cult.

The second and third uses of the term are not always distinguished in the sources. Jerome, writing in 392 CE, tells us that at that time the body of Ignatius, the former bishop of Antioch, who had been martyred at Rome, lay in the 'coemeterium' outside the gate to Daphne. In a sermon delivered on the saint's annual commemoration at roughly the same time, John Chrysostom indicates that he is preaching at the burial site and that it is within walking distance. It is uncertain when the body had been brought back to Antioch from Rome. As was the case with a number of other martyrs, the Koimeterion became only a temporary resting place. Some time during the reign of Theodosius II (408-50), Ignatius' body was removed and translated inside the city walls to a martyrium converted from a temple to the Tyche (Fortune) of Antioch (see Ignatius, St, Church of). It is probable that the bodies of Babylas and the three children associated with him were removed from this cemetery when they were translated to the martyrium in Daphne during the reign of

158. MacMullen, *Second Church*, p. 26, peculiarly locates the cemetery at Qausiyeih. There is no archaeological evidence of a cemetery at that site.

159. Burials were also found across the Oronites near the main heading to Seleucia Pieria and Alexandretta (see fig. 4 nos 24-25 [20-71 and 23-71]). Other cemetery areas (as yet unpublished) were located during the 2004-2008 ground surveys of the ancient city by the teams of Hatice Pamir and Gunnar Bränsjö (see *Excavations of the ancient city of Antioch*, forthcoming). For an excellent overview of the archaeological investigations and future research programmes in Antioch and its vicinity, see *Antioch: A City of the Past and Future* (eds. J. Bränsjö and G. Bränsjö, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008), p. 10. For a recent study of the urban landscape of Antioch, see *Antioch: A City of the Past and Future* (eds. J. Bränsjö and G. Bränsjö, Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2008), p. 10.

Gallus (351-54)¹⁶⁰ and, when Babylas' body was removed from that martyrium in the reign of Julian (361-63), re-installed in this cemetery temporarily prior to their translation to a purpose-built church across the Oronites (see Babylas, St, Church of). It is possible that the relics of Julian, a Cilician bishop and martyr, also found a resting place initially in this locale (see Julian, St, Martyrium of) before they were translated to their own martyrium. In the mid-sixth century we find an example of a body translated from a cemetery at Daphne to this cemetery, where a small martyrium was built over it and an annual commemoration at the site inserted into the liturgical calendar (see Thomas, Martyrium of).

Evidence regarding the shared martyrium at this locale is vague. In his homily on St Drosis John Chrysostom distinguishes the martyrium that holds Drosis' remains from other local martyria, in that it contains a large number of tombs. These are visible in all directions upon crossing the threshold. Reaching the martyrium involves exiting the city, as it lies outside the city walls. John also indicates that he comes to this particular martyrium both for liturgical celebrations and for private devotion, implying that it is used for the former more than once a year.¹⁶¹ While the identification cannot be made with certainty, all of these factors suggest that we are at a common martyrium and thus the Koimeterion, although the so-called Romanesque martyrium must also be kept in mind (see Martyrium 2. At the Romanesque Gate). A martyrium outside the city that contains a large number of burials is also the site of a liturgical celebration on Good Friday in John Chrysostom's time. In the opening to his homily *De coemeterio et de cruce* he reflects on why this particular site has traditionally been chosen, when the city is hemmed in by the relics of martyrs on every side. The reason is the great number of bodies (appropriate since on this same day Christ descended to the dead), which is why the site (ὁ τόπος, rather than the martyrium itself) is called κοιμητήριον. This same practice is alluded to in the early sixth century by Severus of Antioch in a homily delivered on Good Friday, 5 April 513. There he closes his homily by explaining that the fathers decreed that everyone gather in the place called κοιμητήριον on the day of Easter itself or again after the feast of the Resurrection, too, so that they might demonstrate by their actions the redemptive suffering of Christ. His comments here suggest that the homily is part of a Good Friday celebration at the Koimeterion, while the practice of assembling there at Easter or

160. See Martyrium 3. At the temple of Apollo, in Daphne, pp. 96-97.

161. Cf. John's homily on St Barlaam, where he refers to the site of preaching as containing the coffin of more than one martyr, a possible allusion to the same location.

after Easter is less familiar at this time. In a homily delivered at some point during the paschal triduum (Good Friday, Holy Saturday, Easter Sunday) the Chalcedonian patriarch Gregory (570-93) attests to what is most likely the persistence of this practice at the end of the sixth century.¹⁶² Malalas, referring to the martyrdom of the soldiers Juveninus and Maximinus under Julian, asserts that their remains were placed in the martyrium called Koimeterion. However, in this latter case it should be noted that by the last decades of the fourth century their cult seems to have been celebrated in the Church of St Babylas rather than at the site of their burial.¹⁶³

To sum up, the term Koimeterion appears to have been used variously by the Christian inhabitants of Antioch to refer to an actual cemetery that lay outside the walls at the southern end of the city to the side of the road to Daphne; to the cluster of martyr burials contained in that cemetery; and to an actual building (martyrium) shared by a number of those martyr burials. Some saints or martyrs buried in the locale had their own small chapels or martyria, for which we have specific evidence only in the mid-sixth century. The shared martyrium was used in the late fourth century both for the celebration of the annual commemorations of various martyrs buried within it and for an annual stational liturgy on Good Friday. The tradition of gathering at the Koimeterion on Good Friday is also found in the first and final decades of the sixth century. It appears that similar stational liturgies were held at the Koimeterion on or after Easter prior to 513, while the witness of the patriarch Gregory at the close of the sixth century may be evidence that the custom took hold and persisted. Malalas is still familiar with a martyrium of that name in the 530s, if we accept that Book 13 belongs to the first edition of his *Chronographia*. Evagrius, who writes at the close of the sixth century, gives witness in his account of the monk Thomas to the continued practice of building martyria in the cemetery and of celebrating commemorative liturgies there.

Sources: John Chrys., *De coemeterio et de cruce* (PG 49, 393), In s. Ignatium (PG 50, 587-96; trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 102-17), In s. Barlaam (PG 50, 680 54-55; trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, p. 186); *De s. Droside* (PG 50, 683-85; trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 192-95); Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 16 (PL 23, 667); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 22 (PO 37/1,

162. He opens the homily with the statement: 'Festus sumus in hac consuetudine ecclesie que parat nos ad celebrandum tres dies longioris vigiliis in thesauris dei. ... And so since we are persuaded by this that in the church, we who are awake have hastened to those who sleep in tombs.'

163. See Babylas, St. Church of, above, and Part Three, p. 181.

p. 113); Malalas, *Chron.* 13.19 (Thurn, p. 251; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 178); Evagrius, *HE* 4.35 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 184-85; trans. Whitby, p. 240); Gregory of Antioch, *Hom. in mulieres unguentiferas* (PG 88, 1848); John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 88 (PG 87, 2945; John Wortley, [trans.], *The Spiritual Meadow (Pratum Spirituale)* [Cistercian Studies Series 139; Kalamazoo, MI, 1992], p. 71).

Literature: Paul Peeters, 'Saint Thomas d'Émèse et la vie de sainte Marthe', *AB* 45 (1927), pp. 262-96 at p. 288; Pio Franchi di Cavalieri, 'Il κοιμητήριον di Antiochia', *Studi e Testi* 49 (1928), pp. 146-53; Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 278-79; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 293, 415, 556; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 337; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 191-93, 195, 201-202; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153; MacMullen, *The Second Church*, pp. 26-27.

Leontius, St, Martyrium of, at Daphne

Malalas records that on 9 July 507 CE an incident of mob violence occurred during the celebration of the Olympics at Daphne that led to the creation of a martyrium of St Leontius. The mob, led by a charioteer of the Green faction, Kalliopas, attacked the Jewish synagogue in Daphne, set fire to it, plundered everything in it, and massacred a large number of people. Malalas' assertion, that the same crowd set up a cross on the site and converted it at this time into a martyrium dedicated to St Leontius,¹⁶⁴ is to be treated with some suspicion. Severus of Antioch had personal reasons for introducing the cult of St Leontius to Antioch and it is more likely that the martyrium was constructed only after his arrival (512) and that it is only at that point that relics of the saint were translated to Daphne.¹⁶⁵ Severus supplies important detail about the martyrium. He indicates that it was situated at the very top of the road to Daphne¹⁶⁶ and that everyone who passes by the church goes in, prays, remembers the sufferings of the martyr and anoints themselves with oil from the revered urn. In his day a large number of poor people sit there all the time, barring the way and not relenting until passers-by give something. On the day before Severus delivered his first homily there (18 June 513) a carriage bearing the saint's relics had been brought there covered with clothing, bread, rings and necklaces. Children were held up to touch it, giving rise to an incident in which a child was run over, but miraculously escaped unhurt.

164. John of Nikiu repeats Malalas' account without variation.

165. Argued persuasively by Alpi, 'L'orientation christologique', in whose view Severus, *Hom.* 27 was delivered on the occasion of the translation of the relics, thus dating the dedication of the martyrium to 513, six years after the synagogue was destroyed.

166. In *Hom.* 50 Severus claims that Leontius has replaced Apollo and his cult in Daphne.

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 16.6 (Thurn, p. 324; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, pp. 222-23); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 27 (PO 36/4, pp. 570-73), *Hom.* 50 (PO 35/3, pp. 362-63); John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 89.23 (Zotenberg, pp. 136-48; trans. Charles, p. 124).
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 506; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Frédéric Alpi, *L'Orientation christologique des livres XVI et XVII de Malalas: les règnes d'Anastase (491-518) et de Justin I^{er} (518-527)*, in Agustá-Boularot *et al.*, *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas* 2 (Paris, 2006), pp. 227-42 at pp. 239-40; Allen, 'Welcoming Foreign Saints', pp. 16-17; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 154.

Maccabees

1. Church of the

Information about veneration of the Maccabees at Antioch is sparse and difficult to interpret. Their cult was celebrated at Antioch by the larger of the Nicene factions in the last decades of the fourth century as witnessed by John Chrysostom who, in a homily delivered on the day following their annual commemoration, reflects on events of the previous day. On that occasion the whole countryside, he claims, poured into the city for their celebration. This probably took place in a church dedicated to the saints. Augustine, preaching not long after this, refers to a church of the Maccabees at Antioch that had been built by the Christian community: *Sanctorum Machabaeorum basilica esse in Antiochia praedicatur ... Haec basilica a Christianis tenetur, a Christianis aedificata est*. Vinson convincingly argues that the church cannot have been converted from a synagogue at this period, as has previously been thought,¹⁶⁷ a belief now conclusively laid to rest by Triebel.¹⁶⁸ Less certain, though plausible, is Vinson's location of the church in the quarter of the city called Kerateion (where Malalas locates the burial of the Maccabees)¹⁶⁹ and her dating of its construction to the reign of Theodosius I (378-95). The Syrian martyrology, which is thought to originate in the later fourth century,¹⁷⁰ assigns the *locus* of the cult of the Maccabees at Antioch to

167. First proposed by Mariano Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, 'Del luogo del martirio e del sepolcro dei Maccabei', *Bessarione* 1-2 (1896-1897) = 'Martyre et sépulture des Machabées', *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 42 (1899), pp. 290-305, 377-92, and adopted by Downey, *Antioch*, p. 448. For more recent expressions of this opinion see Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews*, p. 88; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Witkowski, 'Marty(y) Shmuni', pp. 166-67; and Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 206-207.

168. Lothar Triebel, 'Das angebliche synagoge', extensively surveys the primary sources and scholarship on this question.

169. The accuracy of Malalas' claim that they were buried at Kerateion is disputable, as are many of the data he records concerning the Seleucid kings in the city.

170. René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie. Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (Poitiers, 1953), pp. 23-25, dates the martyrology to between 382 and 413, giving a date closer to 362.

Kerateion. A church of Kerateion is mentioned in connection to the earthquake of 526 by both the Slavic Malalas and John of Nikiu. In Malalas' account the earthquake started just as the bells of the church were ringing for synaxis. In John of Nikiu's account the church is the site of a liturgical gathering held in response to the earthquake at the feast of the Ascension, implying that it was one of the few churches not destroyed.

Sources: John Chrys., *De ss. martyribus* (PG 50, 645-47; trans. Mayer in Leemans *et al.*, pp. 117-18); Augustine, *Sermo* 300.6 (*Sant'Agostino Discorsi* 5 [273-340A]). *Su i Santi*, introduzione di Antonio Jacquarelli, traduzione, note e indici di Marcella Recchia, Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana, Opere di Sant'Agostino 33 (Rome, 1986), p. 454; 'Syrian Martyrology' (Wright, p. 428); Malalas, *Chron.* 8.23, 17.16 (Thurn, pp. 156, 347; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, pp. 109, 239 [Slav.]); John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 90.30 (Zotenberg, pp. 151-52; trans. Charles, p. 136).

Literature: Mariano Cardinal Rampolla del Tindaro, 'Del luogo del martirio e del sepolcro dei Maccabei', *Bessarione* 1-2 (1896-1897) = 'Martyre et sépulture des Machabées', *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* 42 (1899), pp. 290-305, 377-92, 457-64; Julian Obermann, 'The Sepulchre of the Maccabean Martyrs', *Journal of Biblical Literature* 50 (1931), pp. 250-65; Elester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 283-85; Joachim Jeremias, 'Die Makkabäer-Kirche in Antiochia', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 40 (1942), pp. 254-55; Elie Bickerman, 'Les Maccabées de Malalas', *Byz.* 21 (1951) 63-83; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 448, 561; Margaret Schatkin, 'The Maccabean Martyrs', *VC* 28 (1974), pp. 97-113 at pp. 105-106; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Martha Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15 and the Genesis of the Christian Cult of the Maccabean Martyrs', *Byz.* 64 (1994), pp. 166-92 at pp. 178-86; Witold Witkowski, 'Marty(y) Shmuni, the Mother of the Maccabean Martyrs in Syriac Tradition', in René Lavenant (ed.), *VI Symposium Syriacum 1992* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 247; Rome, 1994), pp. 153-168 at pp. 166-67; Leonard V. Rutgers, 'The Importance of Scripture in the Conflict Between Jews and Christians: The Example of Antioch', in Leonard V. Rutgers *et al.* (eds.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 22; Leuven, 1998), pp. 287-303; Todt, *Region* 2, pp. 799-800; Ariane B. Schneider, 'Jüdisches Erbe in christlicher Tradition: ein kanongeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Bedeutung und Rezeption der Makkabäerbücher in der Alten Kirche des Ostens' (Heidelberg, 2000), pp. 199-215; Gerard Rouwhorst, 'The Cult of the Seven Maccabean Brothers and their Mother in Christian Tradition', in Joshua Schwartz and Marcel Poorthuis (eds.), *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives 7; Leiden, 2004), pp. 183-204 at pp. 183-88; Lothar Triebel, 'Das angebliche Synagoge der makkabäischen Märtyrer in Antiochia am Orontes', *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 9 (2005), pp. 464-95; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 206-207; Raphaëlle Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées: de l'histoire juive au culte chrétien* (Supplements to homélies de Grégoire de Naziance et de Jean Chrysostome) (Paris, 1953), *VC* 80; Leiden-Boston, 2007), pp. 114-18; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153; Daniel Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories of the Maccabean Martyrs* (New York, 2009), pp. 42-44.

2. Martyrium of the, in Daphne

A separate martyrion of the Maccabees most likely existed in Daphne. Once again, however, it is difficult to make sense of the sources. In the late fourth century the shrine was in possession of the Jewish community. In a homily in which he addresses Christians who adopt or persist in Jewish practices John Chrysostom complains about a cave called Matrona, which is the site of incubation by Christians hoping for a cure.¹⁷¹ The Armenian *Life of Marutha of Maipherkat* (died c. 420 CE), translated after the close of the sixth century from a Syriac original, locates Marutha's grandmother in Antioch at a martyr chapel of Eleazar, the mother of the Maccabees (Shmawon Samune) and her seven sons, where she passes the night in prayer for a grandson and receives a vision. An Arabic description of Antioch which itself dates between the tenth and thirteenth centuries but may use a text written during the later part of the Arab occupation of the city (638-969 CE),¹⁷² refers to a formerly Jewish site converted into a Church of St Ashmūnit, which is near the mountain summit on the western side. The church is built over a grotto to which one descends by stairs, which contains the tombs of Ezra (sic) and Ashmūnit and her seven sons, in addition to other Jewish treasures. The author of this text did not visit Antioch and includes a great deal of fanciful topographical detail. The existence of the Church of Ashmūnit at this period is confirmed, however, by the tenth-century Muslim humanist al-Mas'ūdī, who visited Antioch and includes it in his list of local churches, confirming also the tradition that the site was originally in the hands of the Jews.¹⁷³ It should be noted, however, that the twelfth/thirteenth-century history attributed to Abū al-Makārīm, which combines a number of sources concerning the topography of Antioch without rationalizing the inconsistencies, both adopts the account of the

171. Cf. also John Chrys., *In Titum hom.* 3 (PG 62, 679).

172. Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15', p. 179, and Ziade, *Les martyrs Maccabées*, p. 114, accept scholarship that dates the text to prior to 638 CE, but William F. Stinespring, *The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus* 286, PhD diss., Yale University, 1932, Introduction 8. Date, rightly points out that the text dates at least from Arab occupation (638-969). In particular the text describes Suweidīyeh as the port of centuries (see Stinespring, Commentary, pp. 27-28). See also Vinson, *Traveller's, Al-Mina*, Stinespring's arguments regarding date are convincingly refuted by Triebel, 'Das angebliche Synagoge', pp. 478-79.

173. Although see Triebel, 'Das angebliche Synagoge', p. 480, who dismisses the claim on the basis that it is ahistorical and betrays tendentiousness.

church preserved in cod. Vat. Arab. 286 (XXV), and presents another which is markedly different. In this second account it is described as a large church built in Antioch to commemorate Eleazar, Shamūnit and her seven sons (XI), while it is a Church of Ignatius that contains the tomb of Ezra and the Jewish treasures (XIII). Regardless of the problems associated with interpreting these later sources, Vinson's argument that Matrona, Shmawon Samune, Ashmūnit and Shamūnit are one and the same (that is, the Maccabean = Hasmonean mother) is persuasive.¹⁷⁴ The threads that tie these sources together are the claim that this shrine/martyrium/church contains the relics of the Maccabees and that it was once a Jewish site.¹⁷⁵

What the sources appear to record is thus an original grotto or cave in Daphne to which tradition probably ascribed the relics of the Maccabees, where, at least in the early centuries of its use, incubation was practised. This cave or grotto was initially in the possession of the local Jewish community. At some point between the fourth and later sixth centuries it was taken over by a section of the Christian community and the tradition that it contained the relics of the Maccabees persisted. In the later sixth century the pilgrim from Piacenza includes the tomb of the Maccabees among the sites at Antioch worth visiting.¹⁷⁶

Sources: John Chrys., *Adv. Iudaeos or.* 1 (PG 48, 852); Anton. *plac. itin.* 47 (CCSL 175, pp. 153, 174); *Life of Marutha of Maipherkat* Arm. (Ralph Marcus [ed. and trans.], 'The Armenian Life of Marutha of Maipherkat', *HThR* 25 [1932], p. 57); *cod. Vatic. Arab.* 286 (Guidi, p. 149; trans. Stinespring, *Description of Antioch*, Translation, pp. 18-19); Le Strange, *Palestine*,

174. Ziade, *Les martyrs Maccabées*, pp. 119-20, resists the identification of Matrona as another label for the Maccabean mother, preferring instead the identification of her as pagan (Cybele?) by Paul Chuvin, *Chroniques des derniers païens: la disparition du paganisme dans l'Empire romain, du règne de Constantin à celui de Justinien* (Paris, 1990), p. 190. Cf. Rudolph Brändle with Verena Jegher-Bucher, *Johannes Chrysostomus. Acht Reden gegen Juden* (Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 41; Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 232-33 n. 65.

175. See Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15', p. 181, who argues that the practice of incubation in connection with the cave of Matrona and the chapel of Shmawon Samune implies the presence of relics. Although see Witkowski, 'Mart(y) Shmuni', pp. 155-56, who finds the alleged derivation from 'Hasmonean' of the Syriac 'Shmuni' and its derivatives unlikely; and Triebel, 'Das angebliche Synagoge', pp. 481-85, who excludes Jewish evidence for the aetiology of Shamuni/Shamunit/Hasmonean on the basis that none of these names ever applied to the Maccabean mother in Jewish tradition, let alone the label Maccabees. The association of the name with the Maccabean mother in Christian tradition is nonetheless clear.

176. The longer recension says that there were seven tombs, above each of which their sufferings were written. The shorter recension mentions nine tombs and says that their modes of torture hung above each.

p. 368 (al-Mas'ūdi); Ten Hacken, 'The Description', pp. 200-204, 212-13 (Abū al-Makārim XI, XIII, XXV).

Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 283-85; Jeremias, 'Die Makkabäer-Kirche'; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 448, 561; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15', pp. 178-86; Todt, *Region 2*, pp. 799-800; Schneider, 'Jüdisches Erbe', pp. 199-215; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 206-207; Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées*, pp. 118-23; Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, *Christian Memories*, pp. 42-44.

Machouka

see Church 3. In Machouka

Martyrium

1. Called the Koimeterion

See Koimeterion

2. At the Romanesian Gate

Two references to a martyrium associated with the Romanesian Gate occur: the first in Palladius, the second in the title to a homily preached by John Chrysostom at Antioch (386-97) on the festival of Ascension.¹⁷⁷ Palladius in fact refers to more than one martyrium near the Romanesian Gate (μέχρι τῶν μαρτυρίων πλησίον τῆς πόλεως καλουμένης Ῥωμανησίας); the homily title refers to a single martyrium of Romanesia (ἐλέχθη δὲ ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς Ῥωμανησίας). Although the titles appended to John's homilies are notoriously unreliable, one instance in which a greater degree of reliability attaches to the information they contain is when a title preserves topographical detail that cannot be inferred from the contents of the homily, as in this case.¹⁷⁸ Palladius designates this as the site where John was ordered to meet the official who would escort him to Constantinople, suggesting that the gate in question connected with the land route that led there. If this is the case then the martyrium most likely lay across the Orontes near the road to Alexandretta, Saliou locates the Romanesian Gate on the island in the Orontes, connecting to a bridge across to the Orontes' right bank near the *campus martius*. If her identification is correct, this would locate the martyrium/a near the Church of St Babylas.

177. On the probability that this homily was delivered in Antioch see Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom*, pp. 340-41.

178. See Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom*, pp. 334-35.

In the opening columns of the homily John provides important detail about this site. It is outside the city, all of the martyr relics it contains were previously buried beneath the floor, and the martyrium has been in existence for some time. That it had been used with continuity of practice by two different factions at Antioch over the course of its history is indicated by the mixture of visually identical 'heretical' and 'orthodox' burials it contains. That the laity was unable to distinguish between the two is credited as the spur to intervention by the current bishop (Flavian). He is said to have buried and blocked off the heretical relics down below (κατέχωσε καὶ ἀπέφραξε κάτω), without moving their bones from their site, thus leaving the approved martyrs isolated. Precisely what this means is unclear in light of John's comment that until this alteration all of the martyrs, approved and unapproved alike, lay beneath the floor. In light of what the archaeological evidence reveals about burial practices in the Church of St Babylas (see Babylas, St, Church of), however, it may be that he had the unapproved tombs sunk lower into the floor and covered over completely by the flooring in such a way that they were no longer visible, leaving the covers to the approved tombs exposed.¹⁷⁹

Sources: John Chrys., *In ascensionem* (PG 50, 441-43); Palladius, *Dial.* 5 (Anne-Marie Malingrey with Philippe Leclercq [eds.], *Palladius. Dialogue sur la vie de Jean Chrysostome* [SChrét. 341-42; Paris, 1988], p. 114; trans. Robert T. Meyer, *Palladius. Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom* [Ancient Christian Writers 45; New York, NY, 1985], p. 36).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', p. 66; Franchi di Cavalieri, 'Il κοιμητήριον', pp. 152-53; Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', p. 281; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 658; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 337; Wendy Mayer, 'Patronage, Pastoral Care and the Role of the Bishop at Antioch', VC 55 (2001), pp. 58-70 at p. 63; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 195, 203-205; Saliou, 'Le palais impérial', pp. 244-46 and p. 248; Mayer, 'The Late Antique Church at Qausiye Reconsidered: Memory and Martyr-burial in Syrian Antioch', in Johan Leemans (ed.), *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity: FS in Honour of Boudewijn Dehandschutter* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 241; Leuven, 2011), pp. 161-77.

179. For more detailed discussion of this manoeuvre see Mayer, 'The Late Antique Church at Qausiye Reconsidered'. The article was submitted for publication prior to the appearance of Saliou's article in 2009 and so does not take advantage of Saliou's identification of the Porta Romanesia.

3. At the temple of Apollo, in Daphne

Events during the reigns of Constantius II (337-61) and Julian (361-63) alert us to the existence of a martyrion in Daphne situated, according to Sozomen, within the *temenos* of the temple of Apollo.¹⁸⁰ Gallus caesar (351-54), when resident at Antioch, was responsible for a decision to relocate the remains of the Antiochene martyr-bishop Babylas from the common cemetery at Antioch to a martyrion at Daphne. Sozomen attributes the construction of the martyrion (εὐκτήριον οἶκον) to Gallus, implying that it was purpose-built to house Babylas' remains.¹⁸¹ Woods argues that an inscription recorded by Malalas and thought by Malalas to record the completion of the Great Church at Antioch by Constantius II has been misattributed and in fact refers to a church erected under the auspices of Constantius II by Flavius Iulius Constantius (Gallus).

Χριστῷ Κωνσταντίος ἐπέραστον οἶκον ἔτευξεν,
Οὐρανίαις ἀνίστι πανεῖκελα, πανφανόωντα,
Κωνσταντίου ἀνακτος ὑποδρήσσαντος ἐφετμαῖς
Γοργόνιος δὲ κόμης θαλαμηπόλον ἔργον ὕψανε.¹⁸²

Constantius erected for Christ (this) lovely house,
Glittering brightly, in every respect like the vaults of heaven,
via Constantius, who serviced his lord's commands;
the *comes* Gorgonius served as *cubicularius*.¹⁸³

Since the tenure of Gallus at Antioch was brief and no other church constructed under him is mentioned in the sources, Woods argues that the subject of the inscription is most likely the martyrion in Daphne to which Babylas' remains were translated. He prefers, moreover, to view it not as a dedicatory inscription for the building—it contains neither the

180. Sozomen also describes Babylas as Apollo's neighbour. Cf. Libanius, Theodoret and Socrates.

181. No mention is made of the three children who were martyred with Babylas and whose relics must have been translated together with those of Babylas. This is probably due to the focus on Babylas in Sozomen's account.

182. Thurn, p. 250. Ginafranco Agosti, 'Miscellanea epigrafica I. Note letterarie e carmi epigrafici tardoantichi', *Medioevo Graeco* 5 (2005), pp. 1-30 at p. 23, restores the text as follows:

Χριστῷ Κωνσταντίος ἐπὶ ῥατὰ οἶκ' ἔτευξεν
οὐρανίαις ἀνίστι πανεῖκελα, πανφανόωντα,
Κωνσταντίου ἀνακτος ὑποδρήσσαντος ἐφετμαῖς
Γοργόνιος δὲ κόμης θαλαμηπόλον ἔργον ὕψανε.

183. My trans., without adopting the suggestion of David Woods, Malalas, 'Constantius', and a Church-inscription from Antioch', *VC* 59 (2005), pp. 1-30 at p. 59, regarding line 4, dismissed by Agosti, 'Miscellanea', pp. 26-28.

name of the church, nor that of the presiding bishop, nor a date—but rather as a secondary inscription associated with a gift made to the martyrion by the *comes* Gorgonius.

If the inscription was produced for the martyrion,¹⁸⁴ it raises the possibility that this church in Daphne was already under construction at the time that Gallus chose to relocate Babylas' remains, rather than being purpose-built, as Sozomen implies. Whatever the case, it is significant that by the time that Julian mandated the removal of Babylas' relics from the site some ten years later (362), the martyrion contained more than one burial (John Chrys., *De s. Babyla*; Sozomen; Theodoret). The most likely motive for this is the practice of *depositio ad sanctos*, burial in the vicinity of a martyr (for examples, see the Church of St Babylas and the Church of St Julian).

John Chrysostom supplies additional detail. The martyrion was still extant and the gap where the receptacle that contained Babylas' relics had lain was still visible at the time that he preached *De s. Babyla* (between 386 and 397). In his treatise on the subject (*De s. Babyla contra Iul. et gent.* 70) he indicates that the martyrion immediately struck the eye on entry to the suburb.

The martyrion receives mention in this cluster of sources solely because of its role in the history of the multiple translations of the relics of Babylas. The possibility that it continued in use beyond the late fourth century, being identified in a different manner by a later source/s, needs to be kept in mind.

Sources: Libanius, *Or.* 60.5 (Foerster 4, p. 315); John Chrys., *De s. Babyla contra Iulianum et gentiles* 67-97 (*SChrét.* 362, pp. 178-304) and *De s. Babyla* 5-9 (*SChrét.* 362, pp. 302-10; trans. Mayer in Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 145-47); Rufinus, *HE* 10.36 (Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen [eds.], *Eusebius Werke. Die Kirchengeschichte* [Die griechische christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, N.F. 6, 1-3; Berlin, 1999], p. 996); Socr., *HE* 3.18 (Hansen, pp. 213-14); Soz., *HE* 5.19 (Bidez and Hansen, pp. 225-26); Theod., *HE* 3.10 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 186-87); Malalas, *Chron.* 13.17 (Thurn, p. 250; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 177); Evagrius, *HE* 1.16 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 26; trans. Whitby, p. 43). Literature: Downey, 'The Shrines of St Babylas', p. 45; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 364, 387; Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 140-41; David Woods, 'Malalas, "Constantius", and a Church-inscription from Antioch', *VC* 59 (2005), pp. 54-62; Agosti, 'Miscellanea', pp. 23-29; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 199, 205.

184. Regarding alternative possibilities see 2.6 Church completed under Gallus Caesar, pp. 116-17.

4. Of St Stephen

see Stephen, Protomartyr, Martyrium of

5. At Seleucia Pieria

see Church 4. In Seleucia Pieria

6. Of the Maccabees

see Maccabees 2. Martyrium of the, in Daphne

Mary, Church of

See Theotokos, Church of the

Michael the Archangel

1. Church of

A church of Michael the Archangel appears to have been first built at Antioch in the second half of the fifth century. Malalas, as restored from the Slavonic by Thurn,¹⁸⁵ locates this during the reign of the emperor Leo (457-74),¹⁸⁶ describing it as large. In the second decade of the sixth century Severus of Antioch preached a homily on the occasion of the deposition of the relics of the martyrs Procopius and Phocas in a church of Michael. Since he spent the entire sermon persuading his audience that it is appropriate to locate together martyrs and angels, it seems clear that the church in which the relics were deposited was dedicated to the archangel (he explicitly mentions the archangel Michael at the end). Despite Downey's belief that it is a separate church from the one established by Leo, there are no grounds for making a distinction and it seems reasonable to assume that Severus is preaching at Antioch and that the two are one and the same. According to the Slavonic Malalas the church did not survive the earthquake of 526. Along with the Church of the Virgin Mary and the Great Church it collapsed to the ground. If it indeed suffered the same fate as the Great Church,

185. On the problems associated with re-incorporating the Slavonic excerpts see Simon Franklin, 'Malalas in Slavonic', in Jeffreys et al. (eds.), *Studies in John Malalas*, pp. 276-87; and Irène Sorlin, 'Les fragments slaves de Malalas et le problème de leur retroversion en grec', in Beaucamp et al., *Recherches sur la Chronique de Jean Malalas I* (Paris, 2004), pp. 137-45.

186. Although see the translation of the Slavonic by Jeffreys and al., 239, who appear to have used a version which attributes the building of the church to Leo (474-91).

as the Slavonic text suggests, its collapse was the result of fire some days after the initial shock hit.

Malalas indicates that a rather magnificent replacement was built at Antioch some years later in the reign of Justinian (527-65) and attributes it to the empress Theodora. Procopius implies that the church was burnt down at the time of Khusrō's attack on Antioch (540) and that the emperor Justinian had an immense church of Michael the Archangel built anew, but his timing of events is suspicious and it is not unlikely that he conflates Justinian's building campaign at Antioch after the earthquake and the effects of the Persian attack to exaggerate the impact of the latter. In that case, he and Malalas describe the same project. No reference to the church appears in the later Arabic sources.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 72 (PO 12/1, pp. 71-89; Greek fragment of ending in Françoise Petit [ed. and trans.], *Fragments grecs tirés des chaînes sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règnes. Sévère d'Antioche*, Syriac glossary by Lucas Van Rompay [Leuven-Dudley, MA, 2006], pp. 66-69, no. 72; trans. of entire homily in Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, pp. 126-35); Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16 and 19 (Thurn, pp. 347, 351; trans. Jeffreys et al., pp. 239, 243); Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.10.23-5 (Haury 4, p. 80).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', p. 126; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 525-26, 552, 658; Canivet, 'Le Michaelion', p. 107; Pauline Allen, 'Severus of Antioch and the Homily: The End of the Beginning', in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century. End or Beginning?* (Byzantina Australiensia 10; Brisbane, 1996), pp. 163-75 at pp. 170-74; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 152.

2. Church of, in Daphne

Two churches of Michael the Archangel in or close to Daphne receive mention in association with the Persian attack on Antioch in 540 CE. Procopius records that at the time the Persian king Khusrō visited Daphne, where he was responsible for ordering the burning of the Church of Michael the Archangel along with certain other buildings. This was in retaliation for the death of a Persian nobleman, killed by one of the Byzantines. Procopius stresses that nothing else was harmed. The Church of Michael that was burnt is distinguished by him from the one near Tretum, where it is precipitous, which was built by a certain Evaris. It was that church near which the Persian had been killed and about which the orders had been given. The army is said to have confused the two churches and to have set fire to the wrong one. Photius, in the ninth century, had access to a copy of a homily of Ephrem of Antioch (527-45),

preached on the dedication feast (τὸ ἑγκαίνια) of the Church of Michael the Archangel in Daphne, which may suggest that Justinian in fact sponsored the construction of two churches dedicated to the archangel as part of the reconstruction at Antioch following the earthquake of 526.¹⁸⁷ It is possible, however, that Ephrem was preaching rather on the annual festival of the church's dedication, in which case the church may have been in existence prior to the earthquake of 526.

Sources: Procopius, *De bello persico* 2.11.4-13 (Haury 1, pp. 198-99); Photius, *Bibl.* 228 (Henry 4, p. 125).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 545, 553; Canivet, 'Le Michaelion', p. 107; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 155.

3. Church of, near Tretum

See discussion and literature under Michael the Archangel 2. Church of, in Daphne.

Octagonal church

see Great Church

Old Church

see Palaia

Palaia

The Old Church or Palaia is the only church at Antioch for which we have evidence that dates from the period before Constantine. Situated in the old part of the city,¹⁸⁸ it was rebuilt, according to Theodoret, largely under the bishop Vitalis (c. 314-20). His successor, Philogonius (320-24) completed the reconstruction. The church had been destroyed at some stage during the reigns of Galerius and Maximinus (293-313). Theodoret also claims that in 360, when Meletius was exiled and a new homoian

187. Downey, *Antioch*, p. 553, adduces evidence from Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.9.29, to the effect that Justinian restored a church in Daphne, which Downey believes may be the Church of Michael the Archangel. However, his citation is inaccurate and this claim cannot be located elsewhere in *De aedificiis*.

188. Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochiens', believes that so be the meaning of its name, but see Downey, *Antioch*, p. 336 n. 82, who argues that the name of the name is purely chronological.

bishop of Antioch, Euzoios, appointed, the Nicene Christians worshipped separately in the Old or Apostolic Church.¹⁸⁹ Both the *Chronicon paschale* and Theodoret claim that on his return to Antioch from his first exile (362) Meletius worshipped in the Old Church, where he was joined by those who had separated from the homoians, including a number of clergy.¹⁹⁰ Athanasius refers periphrastically to the Meletian faction as those who assembled ἐν τῇ Παλαιᾷ, but it is unclear whether he uses the term to refer to the Old Church or the Old City.¹⁹¹ The next reference to the Old Church occurs some two-and-a-half decades later, in February 387. The author of the title to *De statuis hom.* 1 claimed that John Chrysostom delivered the homily in the Old Church while he was a presbyter. Since the information cannot have been derived from the content of the homily and we know that the homily was delivered at Antioch just prior to the beginning of Lent in the same year that the Antiochenes rioted in response to a tax imposed by the emperor Theodosius I, it is likely that the information is reliable.¹⁹² The church is mentioned in the titles to two other homilies delivered by John. The title to his second homily on the inscription of Acts indicates that it was delivered in the Old Church after an elapse of time, a claim which appears to be supported by John's opening remarks. There he calls the church the mother of the Antiochene (Nicene) Christians and the mother of all its churches,¹⁹³ adding that it is not just older but also founded by apostolic hands. The church is again mentioned in the title to his homily *In illud: In faciem ei restiti*, which indicates that it was preached in the Old Church after John had spent the

189. Cf. Socrates, *HE* 2.44.6 (Hansen, p. 182), who says simply that at the time the adherents of Meletius withdrew from communion with the homoians and held their assemblies apart.

190. But see Socr., *HE* 3.9.4 (Hansen, p. 204) and Soz., *HE* 5.13.3 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 212), who both claim that at this period Meletius and his followers worshipped outside the gates of the city. Socrates may be confusing the period between Meletius' first and second exile with the situation while Meletius was in exile for the second and third time (see Campus martius). Sozomen follows Socrates as his source.

191. Regarding Athanasius' intention in the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* as hostile towards the Meletians and in favour of the Paulinian-led Nicene faction see Tom Elliott, 'Was the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* a Pacific Document?', *JEH* 58 (2007), pp. 1-8, who argues contra the conclusions of Annette von Stockhausen, 'Athanasius in Antiochien', *ZAC* 10 (2006), pp. 86-102. Elliott's reading of the text suggests that the use of the periphrasis is deliberate and dismissive, intended to trivialise the claim of the Meletian faction to legitimacy.

192. On the problems usually associated with the titles to John's homilies see Mayer, *The Homilies of St John Chrysostom*, pp. 315-21. In the three examples cited here the detail in the second title is confirmed in the body of the homily, so that the evidence is relatively secure. In the first and third case, the title contains independent detail, which suggests that the information about the churches is genuine.

193. A similar remark occurs in *In s. Lucianum* (PG 50, 521 3-10) to the effect that Epiphany was celebrated in the Palaia on the previous day.

previous synaxis with the bishop (Flavian) in the 'new church' (see Great Church). In his opening remarks John indicates both that the present audience is associated with the church (that is, they constitute a body of people who regularly worship in that building) and that in his absence they have enjoyed the preaching of a *locum* (that is, that at this time he regularly preached there). A probable reference to the church also occurs in the opening remarks made by John in a homily delivered on the festival of Pentecost. There he refers to the church only by the title of 'mother'. His remark that the church is fully occupied for the festival, but that attendance has been much thinner on the preceding days supports the impression afforded by the previous homily to the effect that the church was in regular use at the time of the delivery of each of these two homilies. No further reference to the church occurs under this name after the close of the fourth century.

Sources: Athanasius of Alexandria, *Tomus ad Antiochenos* 3-4 (Hanns Christof Brennecke et al. [eds.], *Athanasius Werke* 2.8 *Die Apologien* [Berlin, 2006], p. 342); John Chrys., *De statuis hom.* 1 (PG 49, 15-16), *De s. Pentecoste hom.* 1 (PG 50, 453-54), in s. Lucianum (PG 50, 521 3-10; trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, p. 66), *In principium Actorum hom.* 2 (PG 51, 77) and *In illud: In faciem ei restiti* (PG 51, 371-73; trans. Mayer and Allen, *John Chrysostom*, pp. 140-41); Theodoret, *HE* 1.3.1, 2.31.11, 3.4.5 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 7, 172-73, 180); *Chronicon paschale* a. 362 (Ludovicus Dindorf, [ed.], *Chronicon paschale* [Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae, 2 vols; Bonn, 1832], pp. 547-48; Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale* 284-628 AD [Translated Texts for Historians 7; Liverpool, 1989], p. 38). Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 272-78; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 336, 345, 396, 434 n. 135; van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 8-9; Wendy Mayer, 'John Chrysostom and His Audiences. Distinguishing Different Congregations at Antioch and Constantinople', *StPatr.* 31 (1997), pp. 70-75; de Roten, *Baptême et mystagogie*, p. 223.

Paul, Church of St

see Church 5. In Seleucia Pieria (upper city)

Qausiyeh, Church at

see Babylas, St, Church of

Romanus, St, Martyrium of

Although the martyrdom of Romanus had been commemorated with a feast day at Antioch since at least the beginning of the fourth

century,¹⁹⁴ we first hear of a martyrium specifically associated with the martyr in the time of Severus of Antioch. In 512 he repeated his inaugural homily at Antioch two days later, delivering it on that second occasion in the sanctuary of the holy martyr Romanus.¹⁹⁵ It appears to be in this same martyrium that he delivered a homily one year later on 18 November 513 (*Hom.* 35). There he opens his homily by discussing the reasons for preaching on that day, which include the fact that a year earlier he preached on the same date in this same church, and because it is also the festival of St Romanus. On 16 November 515 he preached again at the martyrium on the anniversary of his consecration as patriarch.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 1 (PO 38/2, pp. 254-55), *Hom.* 35 (PO 36/3, pp. 438-57), *Hom.* 80 (PO 20/2, p. 324).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', pp. 125, 127; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 512; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 342; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 140, 154; Allen, 'Loquacious Locals', pp. 6-8.

Seleucia Pieria (martyrium at)

see Church 4. In Seleucia Pieria (lower city)

Stephen, protomartyr, Martyrium of

A martyrium of St Stephen receives mention in several different accounts, all associated with the earthquake of 526.¹⁹⁶ Malalas records that a fire extended from the martyrium of St Stephen as far as the praetorium of the *magister militum per orientem*,¹⁹⁷ although he locates this event prior to the earthquake.¹⁹⁸ The author of the *Life of Symeon Stylites the Younger*, who writes his account not long after Symeon's death

194. See John Chrys., *In s. Romanum* (PG 50, 605-12).

195. Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 154, locates the martyrium in Daphne, but provides no supporting evidence.

196. A possible earlier attestation to the existence of the martyrium may survive in a Syriac version of the Acts of the Council of Ephesus of 449 CE, which allegedly record that the bishop Domnus preached there. See Downey, *Antioch*, p. 658, who cites Johannes Flemming (ed.), 'Akten des Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449, Syrisch, mit George Hoffmanns Deutscher Uebersetzung', *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, N.F. 15.1 (1917), p. 119, line 35.

197. Repeated by John of Nikiu and Theophanes.

198. See Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6018-19, who makes the fire a precursor and the earthquake a continuum in a related set of disasters.

in 592,¹⁹⁹ attributes Symeon's escape from death during the earthquake to the fact that at the time the child was in the church of the holy protomartyr Stephen (his mother was also away from the house praying). From there he wanders around the city until he is found by one of his parents' friends and taken to the adjacent mountain (either Mt Staurin or Mt Silpius) for safety. A slightly earlier attestation to what is probably the same site occurs in a homily of Severus of Antioch. While the subject of the homily is St Thecla, Severus claims that the present oratory may be dedicated to the protomartyr Stephen, but refers to Thecla as well, because while Stephen is the first martyr, Thecla is the beginning of the martyrs. If this is the same site, then at the beginning of the sixth century the cult of Thecla as well as that of Stephen was associated with this martyrdom.²⁰⁰

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 97 (PO 25/1, p. 137); Malalas, *Chron.* 17.14 (Thurn, p. 344; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 236); *Vita Sym. iun.* 7 (Van den Ven 1, p. 8); John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 90.24 (Zotenberg, p. 151; trans. Charles, p. 135); Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6018, AD 525/26 (De Boor, p. 172; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 263).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 520, 626 n. 6, 658; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 339; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153.

Symeon Stylites the Elder, Martyrium of

Malalas reports that on Symeon's death on 2 September 459 the Antiochenes demanded his body and consequently the *magister militum per orientem* Ardaburius sent a division of Goths who brought the body to Antioch. There a martyrium (μαρτύριον) was built for the saint, a large shrine (οἶκος μέγας), inside which he was buried in a tomb.²⁰¹ Evagrius, who is interested in promoting Symeon's prestige, adds that Ardaburius and his troops were sent to protect the body from relic hunters and to ensure that it arrived safely at Antioch.²⁰² Symeon's body was apparently still at Antioch in the 590s because Evagrius says that most of it was still

199. Van den Ven 1, pp. 101*-108*, does not supply a firm date but accepts the author's claim to be a contemporary of Symeon and locates the life at much the same time as the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschos.

200. Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153, locates the martyrium near a western gate of the city on the basis of evidence cited by Downey. The latter, however, clearly state that the location of this martyrium is unknown.

201. Repeated by the *Chronicon paschale* (a. 464) and Michael the Syrian, who use Malalas as their source. *Chron. pasch.* is erroneous in attributing Symeon's death and translation to 464.

202. The same assertion is made in the *Life of Symeon by Antony* (*Vita Sym. Ant.* 29), but he may have derived it from Evagrius rather than the other way around. In general n. 132).

safe in his time (devotees of the saint had managed to steal some of the teeth), and that he personally viewed Symeon's head when the patriarch Gregory was asked to send relics to the general Philippicus for the protection of the eastern armies.²⁰³ In a homily of 513 Severus confirms that Symeon's body lay in a church at Antioch in his time.

The hagiographical tradition raises some questions about Malalas' account. Of the three *Lives* of Symeon that survive (that of Theodoret in the *Historia Religiosa*, the Syriac recensions, and the *Life* by Antony),²⁰⁴ that of Theodoret concludes before Symeon's death and so has nothing to contribute. Both the Syriac *Life* and that of Antony provide significant detail and it is the relationship between these accounts and their relative dates that is of interest here. The earliest recension of the Syriac *Life* (V) asserts that on arrival at Antioch Symeon was buried in the Great Church, implying that at the time that the *Life* was written he still remained there.²⁰⁵

They burnt incense and lit candles, they strewed precious spices before him upon all the people who had accompanied him. They chanted psalms and spiritual hymns before him until he entered and was placed in the holy and great church which Constantine ... had built. This had not happened to any of the saints, either ancient or contemporary. For no one had previously been laid in the great church, neither one of the prophets nor one of the apostles nor one of the martyrs. The blessed Mar Simeon was the first to be buried in the great church. The bishop of Antioch, head of the bishops, and all his clergy each day as a mark of distinction sing and chant spiritual songs before him. Great silver censers of incense are placed before him continually, while every minute excellent perfumes and chosen spices rise up ...²⁰⁶

The *Life* by Antony, on the other hand, describes this situation as temporary:

The whole city, clad in white and carrying candles and lamps, went out to meet the venerable corpse, and they brought it into the church called Cassian. After thirty days, Ardaburius, the military commander, gave a command and had it placed in the Great Church. Afterwards, in turn (κακείθεν πάλιν), following a revelation by God, a martyrium (εὐκτήριος ναός) dedicated to the holy and revered Symeon was built, and with much glory and hymn singing his holy body was laid in that martyrium.²⁰⁷

203. Philippicus was *magister militum per orientem* in 584-87 and 588-89. See PLRE 3B, pp. 1022-26 s.v. Philippicus 3.

204. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between the three see André-Jean Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 184; Paris, 1959), pp. 347-87, and Doran, pp. 36-59.

205. Regarding the Syriac recensions see n. 129.

206. Trans. Doran, p. 193.

207. My trans. Cf. Doran, pp. 99-100.

The thirty days during which the body was deposited in the Church of Cassian is unambiguous. How one interprets what occurred after it was translated to the Great Church, however, depends on two key phrases: ἐκτίθη and εὐκτήριος ναός. Doran translates the first as 'there', implying that the prayer chapel (his translation) was constructed as an addition to the Great Church.²⁰⁸ The adverb is more likely to indicate either physical or temporal movement away from the Great Church, however, and phrases like εὐκτήριος ναός or εὐκτήριος οἶκος, which on the face of it seem to denote a chapel or oratory, can, depending on the date of the text, be used generically to describe anything from a martyrium to a regularly used church. Hence what the author of this *Life* most likely describes is a situation at Antioch in which Symeon's body was deposited successively in three different churches for varying periods.

It is at this point that the relative date of the texts becomes significant. If the colophon to recension V of the Syriac *Life* which dates it to April 473 CE can be relied upon,²⁰⁹ then it is the earliest witness, recording the situation at Antioch thirteen-and-a-half years after Symeon's body arrived. That is, in 473 Symeon's body had not yet been moved from the Great Church. The *Chronicle of Malalas*, due to multiple editions, dates variously from the 530s to the 560s,²¹⁰ the edition of 532, it appears, being the one that Evagrius used.²¹¹ Malalas, then, can be presumed in this instance to record the situation at the time of writing, since he is talking about events close to his time. Thus by the mid to later 500s Symeon had been transferred to his own martyrium at Antioch. Malalas' silence about the Great Church can perhaps be attributed either to a lack of interest in the full history or an assumption on his part that the situation in his own time was original. The assertion in the *Life* by Antony that the body was in fact initially placed in the Church of Cassian, contradicting the early Syriac *Life*, has yet to be accounted for. Since the *Life* by Antony knows of the subsequent construction of a dedicated martyrium, it dates at the earliest to a period after recension V of the Syriac *Life*.²¹² The earliest witness to the existence of a Church of Cassian at

208. This reading is adopted by Whitby, p. 37 n. 132, who asserts that a chapel was built to house Symeon's body at the Great Church.

209. See Lane-Fox, 'The Life of Daniel', p. 181, who accepts that the colophon is authentic and records the date of composition.

210. Croke, 'Dating', pp. 17-25.

211. Croke, 'Dating', p. 19, and Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (TTH 33; Liverpool, 2000), p. xxxii.

212. Lane-Fox, 'The Life of Daniel', pp. 182-83, suggests a date as early as the seventh century on the basis that part of the *Life* was translated into Arabic on the *Vita Marthae*, composed c. 620 CE.

Antioch is a homily of Severus of Antioch delivered in 513 (see Cassian, Church of). In 529 Justinian donated an imperial robe that was displayed in the church. More significantly, however, the Church of Cassian is one of only two churches from the sixth century that continue to thrive through to the eleventh century, taking over from the Great Church as Antioch's cathedral church. What we thus observe in the *Life* by Antony is evidence of that *Life*'s later date in the anachronistic insertion into the sequence of events of the Church of Cassian to demonstrate its current priority and to show that it, too, was sanctified by the presence of Symeon's remains.

To sum up, it appears from the evidence that a martyrium built specifically to house Symeon's relics and dedicated to that saint was built at Antioch some time between the final decades of the fifth century and the middle of the sixth century. The martyrium was in existence until at least the 580s. No reference to it occurs in the later Arabic sources. It also fails to receive mention in the *Itinerarium* of the pilgrim from Piacenza, which records a visit to Palestine and other eastern holy sites, including Antioch, undertaken c. 570.²¹³

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 14.37 (Thurn, pp. 291-92; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 203); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 30 (PO 36/4, p. 639); *Vita Sym. Syr.* (V) 125-26 (trans. Doran, pp. 192-93); Evagrius, *HE* 1.13 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 22-23; trans. Whitby, pp. 36-38); *Chronicon paschale* a. 464 (Dindorf, pp. 593-94; trans. Whitby and Whitby, p. 86); *Vita Sym. Ant.* 29-32 (Lietzmann, pp. 66-76; trans. Doran, pp. 98-100); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 9.4 (Chabot 4, p. 249; Chabot 2, p. 142).

Literature: Festugière, *Antioche*, pp. 377-87; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 459-61; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 342; Todt, *Region 2*, p. 801; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153.

Thecla, St, Martyrium of

See Stephen, protomartyr, Martyrium of

Theotokos, Church of the

We first learn of a Church of the Theotokos at Antioch in a sermon preached by Severus of Antioch in 515. The title to *Homily* 83 indicates

213. The author lists as significant attractions at Antioch: St Babylas and the three youths, St Justina, St Julian and the Maccabean brothers (*Anten. plac. itin.*, CCSL 175, pp. 153, 174). The silence about Symeon may, however, have something to do with the priorities of the author of the *Itinerarium* rather than the status of the cult at the time.

that it was delivered on the feast of Christmas or Epiphany (25 December 515) inside the chapel of the Virgin Mary after it had been extended. In 515) inside the chapel of the Virgin Mary after it had been extended. In a homily preached on the Theotokos earlier in that same year (*Hom.* 67, 2 February 515) he indicates that this involved the addition of porticoes. The extension is attributed both in the title and in the body of *Homily* 83 to the generosity of the emperor Anastasius (491-518). Severus tells the audience that they, too, have a role to play in paying for the extension and the new decorative program, indicating that the work was recent and not yet paid off. His comment may also indicate that, while the construction was complete, the decorative program was being added in stages as finances allowed. Whatever the case, it is clear that a smaller church dedicated to the Virgin existed on this same site prior to the reign of Anastasius.²¹⁴ It is likely that this was built at some point after the Council of Ephesus (431), when the cult of Mary began to gain momentum. John Chrysostom, who preached at Antioch between 386 and 397, gives no evidence of a cult of Mary at Antioch in his time and in fact displays little interest in her.²¹⁵ The church is next mentioned in the Slavonic *Malalas*, where it is said to have burned to the ground in the aftermath of the earthquake of 526.

Both Procopius and *Malalas* attribute to Justinian (527-65) the building of a new Church of the Theotokos, this time opposite the basilica of Rufinus. Procopius, as with the Church of Michael the Archangel,²¹⁶ dates the construction to after the Persian attack in 540, whereas *Malalas* implies that it took place not long after 526. Procopius' timing of events is suspicious, however, and it is not unlikely that he conflates Justinian's building campaign at Antioch after the earthquake and the effects of the Persian attack to exaggerate the impact of the latter.²¹⁷ By implying that churches financed by Justinian and which had only just been completed were destroyed in 540 and immediately rebuilt again, he is also able to magnify his praise of the emperor's generosity.²¹⁸ The most likely solution is that *Malalas* and Procopius refer to the same project, that it was completed

214. Note, however, that Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 152, prefers to distinguish two sites in the time of Severus: a chapel of the virgin that comprised part of the Great Church complex (*Hom.* 83), and a Church of the Theotokos (*Hom.* 67). Neither homily supplies clear grounds for doing so.

215. See Catherine Broc-Schmezer, *Les figures féminines du Nouveau Testament dans l'oeuvre de Jean Chrysostome* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes: Antiquité 185; Turnhout, 2011), ch. 7.

216. See Michael the Archangel, 1, Church of, pp. 98-99.

217. *Malalas'* dating is more probable on the grounds that Justinian would not have waited so long to rebuild such a crucial church.

218. See Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 546-52, who himself has reservations about Procopius' account. It is also unlikely that Justinian would have waited until after 540 to rebuild a church dedicated to the Theotokos, given the importance that the emperor developed by this time. See Part Two, pp. 159-60.

prior to 540, and that the church was not substantially damaged by Khusrō's army. Procopius describes the church as large and of matchless beauty and magnificence, and adds that Justinian endowed it with a considerable income. Evagrius recounts an episode that took place during the reign of the emperor Maurice (582-602) in the Church of the Virgin and Theotokos, known locally as the Church of Justinian. Maurice, the patriarch Gregory standing beside him, was offering incense late at night in the church, when the curtains surrounding the altar caught fire. In the earthquake of October 588 no damage to the church itself is mentioned, but Evagrius recounts that everything in the vicinity fell down, with only the central colonnade preserved. In the tenth century the Muslim humanist al-Mas'ūdī visited Antioch where he observed, among others, a church dedicated to Mary, which he describes as round and one of the wonders of the world for the beauty of its construction and its height.²¹⁹ The same observations regarding a church dedicated to the Virgin were made by Willbrand of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen when he visited Antioch in the early thirteenth century.²²⁰

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 67 (PO 8/2, pp. 340, 366), *Hom.* 83 (PO 20/2, pp. 399, 418); *Malalas*, *Chron.* 17.16, 19 (Thurn, pp. 347, 351; trans. Jeffreys et al., pp. 239, 243); Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.10.23-24 (Hauray 4, p. 80); Evagrius, *HE* 5.21, 6.8 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 216-17, 227-28; trans. Whitby, pp. 283-84, 299); Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 368; Willbrand of Oldenburg-Wildeshausen, *Itin.* XIV.18 (Johann Christian Moritz Laurent [ed.], *Peregrinatores medii aevi quattuor*: Buchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Willbrandus de Oldenburg [Leipzig, 1864], p. 172).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', pp. 53, 55; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 525, 552, 566, 568, 624, 631; Todt, *Region* 2, pp. 802-803; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 152.

Thomas, Martyrium of

Evagrius and John Moschus confirm the death and burial at Daphne during Justinian's reign (527-65) of a visiting Syrian monk, Thomas.²²¹

219. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī*, p. 292. See also Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 368. A church of the Virgin at Antioch is also mentioned twice in Abū al-Makārim's *History of the Churches and Monasteries in the Twelfth Century in Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries* (Ten Hacken, 'The Description of Antioch', pp. 200, 215). The author relies on other witnesses and combines at least two sources of different quality for his description of Antioch, but at least confirms the survival of the church into the centuries of Umayyad control.

220. The church is described as *tota rotunda, supra modum ornate* ('completely round, elaborately decorated').

221. See Dubia, Euphemia, St. Martyrium of, in Daphne, p. 120. His burial in a cemetery at Daphne is also mentioned in *Vita Marthae* 24 (Van den Ven 2, p. 271), but see Van den Ven 1, pp. 79-84, on the problems associated with the passage.

As a result of miraculous happenings associated with his body, it was translated to the common cemetery where, John Moschus claims, a small martyrion was built over it. Evagrius states that Thomas was honoured in the cemetery after his translation miraculously put a stop to the current bout of the plague. His subsequent comment that Thomas' annual festival was celebrated in a major way at Antioch down to his own time (the 590s), suggests that John Moschus was correct in associating the second burial of Thomas with some kind of martyrion.

Sources: Evagrius, *HE* 4.35 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 184-85; trans. Whitby, p. 240); John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 88 (PG 87, 2945; John Wortley, [trans.], *The Spiritual Meadow (Pratum Spirituale)* [Cistercian Studies Series 139; Kalamazoo, MI, 1992], p. 71).

Literature: Paul Peeters, 'Saint Thomas d'Émèse et la vie de sainte Marthe', *AB* 45 (1927), pp. 262-96; Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 556-57; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 342; Todt, *Region* 2, p. 806; Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History*, p. 240 n. 114.

Thomas the Apostle, Church of, in Seleucia Pieria

In a homily delivered in Seleucia Pieria on 3 July 513 Severus of Antioch indicates that it is the annual commemoration of the apostle Thomas that has brought him to the city, associates Seleucia explicitly with the movements of the apostles by sea, and calls the city blessed because of its apostolic history. He also alludes to a building campaign by the current emperor (Anastasius, 491-518) that involves the rebuilding of not just functional buildings in the port, but also churches. In a letter to the bishop of Seleucia Pieria he refers to a chapel-house of the apostle Thomas, next to which is a monastery. Together this information suggests that a church of some kind associated with the apostle Thomas was situated in Seleucia at this time. That the monastery is identified by Severus by its proximity to this building may suggest that the church is not part of the monastic establishment. In the *Life* of John bar Aphthonia, a contemporary of Severus, while a monastery at Seleucia named after St Thomas figures prominently, the suspicion that the church or martyrion associated with Thomas is separate is again raised. John's mother is determined that her son enter the monastery at an earlier than usual age and is refused at the monastery's gate. When she leaves she turns to the right towards the building that contains the chapel of the apostle and proceeds to pray. Had the chapel been part of the monastery it would have been inside the walls and inaccessible to her. Nau, who edited the Syriac *Life* of John, believed that the monastery, which

supplied accommodation to sea travellers, was situated on the mountain in the upper city of Seleucia.²²² If this is the case, then a further possibility arises: that the church in the upper city of Seleucia (see Church 5, In Seleucia Pieria), in which an inscription describes the recent work on the mosaic floor as being in honour of 'the apostle', is in fact this same church. However, the *Life* of John goes on to claim that the monastery of St Thomas itself was near the city's gate, which may indicate rather that it was situated in the lower city.²²³ Without a more thorough archaeological assessment of both the late antique city and the site in the upper city at which the church was found, there is no way to determine what was in fact the case.

Both Baumstark and Honigsmann assume that Severus preached not for a lay audience but for the monastic community, while Baumstark goes so far as to claim that the festival of St Thomas was specific to the monastery and not celebrated within the Antiochene liturgical calendar. If the church was used on the contrary for regular worship then it is likely that a lay audience was present. That there is no trace of the festival in the Antiochene liturgical calendar may mean simply that celebration of the apostle was local to Seleucia Pieria.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 28 (PO 36/4, pp. 574-76), *Ep.* 7.4 (Brooks 1, pp. 421-22; trans. Brooks 2, p. 374); *Life of John bar Aphthonia* 4 (Nau, pp. 19-20, 29-30).

Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', pp. 312-14; Ernst Honigsmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (CSCO 127, subs. 2; Louvain, 1951), pp. 29-30; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 155.

Virgin, Church of the

See Theotokos, Church of the

222. François Nau (ed.), *Vie de Jean bar Aphthonia* (Bibliothèque hagiographique orientale 2; Paris, 1902), p. 2 n. 1.

223. For the location of gates see fig. 5.

EVIDENCE NOT FIRMLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO A SPECIFIC SITE

1. Interior architecture, furnishings and decorative elements

1.1 Doves (altar and baptismal font)

At the Synod of 536 in Constantinople at which Severus, exiled patriarch of Antioch, was condemned, he was accused of removing gold and silver statues of doves, representing the Holy Spirit, which hung above the baptismal fonts and altars in his patriarchate (see fig. 133).

Both Severus and Philoxenus of Mabbug were subject to accusations of iconoclasm regarding doves. In Syria these birds were sacred to the goddess Aphrodite, and their removal should be seen in the context of stamping out pagan practices.

Source: Zach. Rh., *Vita Severi* (PO 2/3, p. 342).

Literature: Honigsmann, *Évêques*, p. 23 and n. 4.

1.2 Offertory boxes

Malalas records that in 530 CE a petition for the ransom of captives held by the Saracens was circulated, which prompted numerous donations at Antioch. These were deposited 'in what are known as offertory boxes (τὰ λεγόμενα γαζοφυλάκια) in each church', indicating that such boxes were a widespread fixture of at least the regularly used churches at Antioch.

Source: Malalas, *Chron.* 18.59 (Thurn, p. 387; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 270).

1.3 Ciborium

see 2.5 Church containing the relics of St Drosis

2. Churches

2.1 Former synagogues

In the course of praising the virtues of Symeon Stylites the Elder, Evagrius refers to a decree of Theodosius II that required return to the Jews of Antioch of synagogues that had previously been taken away by the Christians. In this he probably follows the *Syriac Life of Symeon*, which does not, however, explicitly apply the edict to the region of Antioch. It

is uncertain whether this refers to real events at Antioch, where direct persecution of Jews by Christians seems to have occurred later than in most other regions, or if it is an example of an anachronistic reading back into the past of events closer to Evagrius' own time with the intent of enhancing Symeon's image. That Jews were at that time having genuine difficulties due to the confiscation of synagogues is indicated by *Codex Theodosianus* 16.8.25-27 (15 February, 9 April and 8 June 423, addressed to the praetorian prefect Asclepiodotus). Downey, however, reads both the legislation and the confiscation of the synagogues in the region of Antioch as a response to a specific event—the taunting murder by Jews of a Christian boy in 414 in a town near Antioch. The episode is recorded by Socrates. If Downey's reading of events is correct, then it is possible that the authorities handed over certain synagogues to the imperially-endorsed Christian community at Antioch in reparation. The question remains whether that Christian community subsequently converted them into Christian sites of worship and, if they did, whether they responded to the legal advice recorded in the *Codex Theodosianus*. That the Christian community resisted the return of the synagogues is suggested by the promulgation of the opinion twice, four months apart.

Sources: Socr., *HE* 7.16 (Hansen, p. 361); *Vita Sym. Syr.* 121 (trans. Doran [V], pp. 189-90); *C.Th.* 16.8.25 and 16.8.27 (Mommson and Meyer, I.2, pp. 893-94; trans. Pharr and Davidson, XV, pp. 125-26); Evagrius, *HE* 1.13 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 22; trans. Whitby, p. 36).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 459-61.

2.2 Justina

In the sixth century the pilgrim from Piacenza lists as significant attractions at Antioch: St Babylas and the three youths, St Justina, St Julian, and the Maccabean brothers. Babylas, the Maccabees, and Julian are all associated with specific churches or shrines at Antioch, which suggests that in the late sixth century Justina, too, had her own specific site. Whether she had her own church or martyrion or her relics shared a site with those of other saints is unknown.

Source: Anton, *plac. itin.* (CCSL 175, pp. 153, 174).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 561; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 341.

2.3 *Rebuilding of a church (sixth century)*

The Syriac chronicle attributed to Zachariah of Mytilene, which derives much of its material from a Greek source completed in 569,²²⁴ records the rebuilding from its foundation at Antioch by the patriarch Ephrem (527-45) of a church round in form and with four triclina adjoining it. This was completed by 538 (indiction 1) when Ephrem summoned one hundred and thirty-two bishops from his jurisdiction for its dedication.²²⁵ The chronicle records that on the occasion of the dedication of the church he received a contribution from each of them, on a lavish scale. Downey assumes that this refers to a rebuilding of the Great Church, but the survival of a reference in Photius to a homily preached by Ephrem on the dedication feast of a Church of Michael in Daphne (see Michael the Archangel 2. Church of, in Daphne) reminds us that Ephrem will have presided over the dedication of a number of churches as a result of the substantial reconstruction of Antioch that took place under Justinian's sponsorship after the earthquake of 526. The Church of Michael (see Michael the Archangel 1. Church of) or the Church of the Theotokos (see Theotokos, Church of the) were both rebuilt from the foundation at this time. The Church of the Theotokos in particular is said by later sources to have been round and is also described as magnificent and substantially endowed. The Great Church is thus only one of a number of possible candidates.

Sources: Zachariah of Mytilene, *Chron.* 10.5 (Brooks, p. 190); Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 9.24 (Chabot 4, p. 288; Chabot 2, p. 207).
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 533.

2.4 *Baptistry*

A baptistry of unspecified location receives mention several times in the preaching of Severus of Antioch. The first of the six homilies (*Homily* 32) indicates that it was normal practice during Severus' patriarchate to process to the baptistry on Sunday evenings throughout the year with a celebration, praise, prayer and supplication as a reminder of the baptismal covenant and of the forgiveness of sins. The exception to this practice was during Lent. The other five homilies were preached in different years on what appear to be liturgically similar occasions, namely the

²²⁴ Brooks I, pp. I-III.

²²⁵ The same information is repeated by Michael the Syrian either on the basis of Zachariah or a common source.

closing of the baptistry as part of the preparation for Lent.²²⁶ The title to *Homily* 40 explicitly mentions the Lenten fast, while those of *Homilies* 40 and 69 and the opening lines to *Homily* 121 indicate that they were delivered on the eve of the fast, perhaps as part of a vigil. In the opening lines of *Homily* 88 Severus asserts that the entrance to the baptistry is closed and locked in preparation for the resurrection.²²⁷ The title to *Homily* 40 recalls the practice of assembling at the baptistry every Sunday evening during the rest of the liturgical year. There are some inconsistencies—the last four homilies were delivered at the entrance to the baptistry; the title to *Homily* 40 claims that it was delivered inside the baptistry rather than at the entrance; and the title to *Homily* 69 claims that the preparation usually takes place 'after' Easter—but the general custom seems to be secure. In *Homily* 32 Severus indicates further that there were those at Antioch who believed that this particular baptistry should be closed year-long, with the exception of Easter.²²⁸ This is in contrast to the baptisteries at Antioch associated with other 'houses of prayer', to which those individuals do not attach the same elevated status, suggesting that this particular baptistry is attached to the cathedral (Great?) church. In addition, there survives a hymn attributed to Severus, which appears to have been among those sung at the entrance to the baptistry at dawn on (Easter) Sunday.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 32 (PO 36/3, pp. 412-15), *Hom.* 40 (PO 36/1, p. 9), *Hom.* 69 (PO 8/2, p. 388), *Hom.* 88 (PO 23/1, p. 92), *Hom.* 106 (PO 25/4, p. 660), *Hom.* 121 (PO 29/1, p. 95), *Hymn* 90-1-III (PO 6/1, p. 130).
Literature: Baumstark, 'Das Kirchenjahr', p. 62; Geoffrey Cuming, 'The Liturgy of Antioch in the Time of Severus (513-518)', in J. Neil Alexander (ed.), *Time and Community* (Washington, DC, 1983), pp. 100-101; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 150.

2.5 *Church containing the relics of St Drosis*

Severus of Antioch provides important information about the *ciborium* of a church that in his time contained the relics of St Drosis. It appears that the *ciborium* above the altar was at this time only partially completed, leading him to appeal to the audience to contribute what money they could to finish the work. He indicates that the church/

²²⁶ *Hom.* 32, by contrast, appears to have been delivered in September or October 513 on the feast of John the Baptist (Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 188).

²²⁷ Cf. the opening lines to *Hom.* 106 and 121, where it is said that entry into the baptistry is forbidden until the feast of the passion and resurrection.

²²⁸ PO 36/3, p. 414.

martyrium was a popular destination in his time for those who sought favours from the saint via prayer. On the other hand, he complains, no one pays attention to the altar or to the silver columns above it that support the cupola situated beneath their capitals. The cupola is bare, unsightly and lacking in form, the shape as yet picked out only with iron rods that require an overlay of silver. If everyone gave a λῖτρα of silver it would be enough to complete the work. The entire amount, he says, could in fact easily be donated by a single wealthy member of the local Christian community. He indicates that the cupola was part of the original plan of those who constructed the present church, perhaps demonstrating that its construction lay not too far in the past.

The church is probably distinct from the location in which Drosis' relics were situated at Antioch during the period that John Chrysostom preached there (386-97).²²⁹ In the one homily on St Drosis that survives he indicates that the martyrium contains a large number of burials in addition to Drosis and that this is distinctive from the other local martyria. In that instance he comments on the exodus from the city required to reach the martyrium.

Sources: John Chrys., *De s. Droside* (PG 50, 683-94; trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 192-207); Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 100 (PO 22/2, pp. 230, 246-47), *Hom.* 114 (PO 26/3, p. 290).

Literature: Cuming, 'Liturgy of Antioch', p. 102; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 339; Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 205-206; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153; Allen, 'Welcoming Foreign Saints', pp. 10-13.

2.6 Church completed under Gallus caesar

Woods argues persuasively that an inscription recorded by Malalas and thought by him to record the completion of the Great Church at Antioch by Constantius II has been misattributed and in fact refers to a church erected under the auspices of Constantius II by Flavius Iulius Constantinus (Gallus).

Χριστῷ Κωνσταντίος ἐπέραστον οἶκον ἔτευξεν,
Οὐρανίαις ἀψὶς πανεῖκελα, πανφανόντων,
Κωνσταντίνου ἀνακτος ὑποδρήσουτος ἐρετμαῖς.
Γοργόνιος δὲ κόμης θαλαμηπόλον ἔργον ὕψανε.²³⁰

²²⁹ Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 153, believes the two locations to be one and the same (the Koimeterion).

²³⁰ For the reconstruction of the text by Agosti, *Museion*, which differs slightly from that of Thurn, see n. 182 above.

Constantius erected for Christ (this) lovely house,
Glittering brightly, in every respect like the vaults of heaven,
via Constantius, who serviced his lord's commands;
the comes Gorgonius served as *cubicularius*.²³¹

Since the tenure of Gallus at Antioch was brief (351-54) and no other church constructed under him is mentioned in the sources, Woods argues that the subject of the inscription is most likely the martyrium in Daphne to which Babylas' remains were translated.²³² He prefers, moreover, to view it not as a dedicatory inscription for the building—it contains neither the name of the church, nor that of the presiding bishop, nor a date—but rather as a secondary inscription associated with a gift made to the building by the *comes* Gorgonius. This is a neat solution. It is equally possible, however, that Constantius had initiated the building of another church at Antioch, which was completed under the administration of Gallus and about which the sources remain silent. Socrates indicates that during the period of Meletius' episcopate (360-81), while the majority of the churches of Antioch were in the possession of the homoians, the followers of Paulinus (leader of the other Nicene faction) retained possession of one of the small churches inside the city,²³³ indicating that there were more churches in existence inside Antioch at this period than can be identified.

What this inscription can tell us, is nonetheless interesting. Either by Malalas' time, some two centuries later, the inscription had become dissociated from its original church and been incorporated into the Great Church during a period of restoration or, as Woods assumes, in Malalas' time the only record of the inscription survived in a written source. In the latter case, the error in attribution had either been made earlier and appeared in the source or was made by Malalas himself. Whatever the case, by c. 532, the date of the first edition of Malalas' *Chronographia*, the inscription was no longer associated with its original church. This may indicate that that church had ceased to exist sometime before c. 532.

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 13.17 (Thurn, p. 250; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 177).

Literature: Woods, 'Malalas, "Constantius"'.²³⁴

²³¹ My trans. See n. 183 above.

²³² See Martyrium 3. At Temple of Apollo, in Daphne, pp. 96-97.

²³³ Socr., *HE* 3.9.4 (Hansen, p. 204). Cf. Soz., *HE* 5.13.3 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 212).

2.7 Cemetery (πανδέκτη)

Severus of Antioch provides information about what appears to have been a stationary synaxis held in commemoration of the poor and strangers who have died at Antioch and are buried in the cemeteries called πανδέκτα. He complains about the poor attendance on this occasion, indicating that this was a commemoration that was not considered by the inhabitants of Antioch to be either particularly efficacious or attractive. A cemetery for foreigners in Daphne is mentioned in several sources that refer to the death of the monk Thomas (see Thomas, Martyrium of). Evagrius mentions that when Thomas died in a hospice for the sick in Daphne c. 550 he was buried in the tombs of the foreigners (ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐπηλύδων τάφοις). The *Vita Marthae* also mentions this location. There Martha indicates that she will be buried among the foreigners ἐν τῷ πανδέκτῃ Δάφνης, where Thomas was initially buried.²³⁴ Since Severus refers to such cemeteries in the plural, however, it is possible that the cemetery for foreigners in Daphne was not unique and that a similar location existed outside the walls of Antioch. If that was the case, we cannot be certain in which πανδέκτη the commemoration was held.

Sources: Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 76 (PO 12/1, pp. 133, 135-38); Evagrius, *HE* 4.35 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 184-85); *Vita Marthae* 24, 28 (Van den Ven 2, pp. 271, 274).

Literature: Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 153-54.

2.8 Church orientation

Socrates, discussing the peculiarities of practice in various churches of his time (c. 440 CE), asserts that in Syrian Antioch the site of the church (ἡ ἐκκλησία) is inverted. There the altar (θυσιαστήριον) does not face the east, but looks towards the west. The statement appears among a range of general assertions, which suggests that he is talking about the orientation of churches in that city in general, rather than the orientation of a specific church.²³⁵ It is to be noted, however, that the floor-plans of the three churches excavated contradict this statement. In those instances all of the sanctuaries point roughly towards the east.

Source: Socr., *HE* 5.22.53 (Hansen, p. 302).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 345.

234. At *Vita Marthae* 28 Martha is said to have been buried in the tomb of the foreigners at the place called Elephanto (ἐν τῷ τάφῳ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ τῶν ἐπεληλύδων τὸν λεγόμενον Ἐλεφαντῶνα), where the monk Thomas had been buried.

235. Downey assumes that the statement refers specifically to the Great Church.

Cherubim, Place of the

In the supplementary tales of John Moschus a story is recorded concerning a vision at the so-called place of the Cherubim at Antioch. The location is said to be extremely venerable (πάνυ σεβάσιμος) due to an image of Christ that stands there. The same location is referred to in the *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger, where it is referred to as an ancient part of the wall. On finding himself there as a child he also sees a vision of Christ, this time with all of the righteous in heaven beside him. Downey associates the location with the old Gate of the Cherubim set into the Tiberian walls, where the emperor Titus had mounted spoils brought to Antioch from the destroyed Jewish temple in Jerusalem. He also associates the area of the city with the gate leading to Daphne and the quarter known as Kerateion. The exact nature of the location and the image is unclear. Also unclear is the date at which the location began to be considered holy. Both sources date from the late sixth or early seventh century.

Sources: John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* supp. 12 (Nissen, pp. 367-68); *Vita Sym. iun.* 9 (Van den Ven 1, pp. 9-10).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 554, 614-15.

Daphne, Church of

In the anonymous *Life* of Martha, mother of Symeon Stylites the Younger, a vision is attributed to her in which she sees Symeon in 'the church of Daphne', surrounded by people and their children from the countryside, begging for his prayers and help. It is uncertain how this information might be used, however, as the historical veracity of the source proves questionable on a number of points.²³⁶

Sources: *Vita Marthae* 16 (Van den Ven 2, p. 265).

Euphemia, St, Martyrium of, at Daphne

The first sources that refer to a martyrium of St Euphemia at Daphne all date from the late sixth or early seventh century and it is uncertain

236. See Paul Van den Ven, 'La martyrium en triconque dans la Vie de Sainte Marthe', *Revue de l'histoire de l'Église* 31 (1961), pp. 249-55; and idem *l.* pp. 79-84.

to what degree they can be relied upon. In the *Pratum spirituale* John Moschus records a story about a priest-monk, Thomas, who died at Daphne while in Antioch on church business and, by virtue of miraculous happenings after his death, was eventually proclaimed a saint and reburied there in the common cemetery. John Moschus claims that he died in the church of St Euphemia in Daphne. The same story is told, with minor variations, several decades earlier by Evagrius and is alluded to in the *Vita Marthae*.²³⁷ John Moschus attributes the events described in the story to the episcopate of Domnus (545-59); Evagrius attributes them to Justinian's reign (527-65) and the episcopate of Ephrem (527-45). In Evagrius' version, however, Thomas dies in a hospice for the sick in Daphne. A martyrdom of St Euphemia is also mentioned in two testimonia by Severus of Antioch recorded in the Acts of the Lateran (649 CE) and Third Constantinopolitan (680 CE) councils. The testimonia are labelled an extract from a homily that Severus pronounced in Daphne in the martyrdom of St Euphemia after his elevation to the patriarchate. However, no mention of the martyrdom occurs among his surviving 125 homilies, and the profession of faith that he delivered publicly immediately on his elevation occurred in the Great Church.²³⁸ The possibility that the hospice and the martyrdom were part of the same complex may account for the discrepancy between the accounts of Evagrius and John Moschus, but it is just as possible that the attribution of a martyrdom to Euphemia, the patron of the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE), is an early seventh-century embellishment, later picked up in the conciliar Acts in order to cast doubt on the motives of the anti-Chalcedonian Severus.

Sources: Evagrius, *HE* 4.35 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 184-85; trans. Whitby, p. 240); John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 88 (PG 87, 2945; trans. Wortley, p. 71); *Acta*, Lateran Council (ACO ser. 2, I, p. 324 10); *Acta*, Third Council of Constantinople (ACO ser. 2, II/1, p. 104 3); Marc-Antoine Kugener, 'Allocation prononcée par Sèvre après son élévation sur la trône patriarchal d'Antioche', *OC* 2 (1902), pp. 265-82 at p. 271.

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 512, 556; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 340; Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 154-55.

²³⁷ *Vita Marthae* 24 and 28 (Van den Ven 2, pp. 271 and 274). The date of this text is difficult to assess. Where Lane-Fox, 'The Life of Daniel', p. 181, attributes its composition c. 620, the editor, Van den Ven 1, pp. 77-92, offers no narrower range than later than the end of the sixth century and largely anterior to the mid-seventh century.

²³⁸ See Alpi, *La route royale* 2, pp. 62-64 (Nov 3-4).

Job, St, Church of

The author of the *Life* of Symeon Stylites the Younger mentions beggars in St Job's (ἐν τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰωβ), which is in front of the gate of the city. They play a role in the arrival at Antioch of the newly elected patriarch, Domnus (545-59). It is unclear whether the phrase refers to a church or a suburb. Downey lists it as a church in his index, but makes no mention of it in his list of churches and monasteries in *Excursus* 17; Van den Ven interprets it as a quarter rather than a church.

Sources: *Vita Sym. iun.* 72 (Van den Ven 1, p. 62).

Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 557 n. 231; Van den Ven 2, p. 79 n. 2; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, p. 340.

Martyrium in Daphne, Workshop of

A building in the Yakto mosaic border, labelled TA ΕΡΤΑΕΘΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΥ (figs. 135a-b), is usually identified as the workshop of a martyrdom in Daphne.²³⁹ This reading of the inscription ('the workshop of the martyrdom') is not as certain as it at first appears. The group of figures to the right of the building, interpreted by Kondoleon as women buying votives for their visit to the martyrdom, are read by Levi as simply a group of three figures in conversation, while the two persons depicted in front of the building he associates with the scene to the left (game-playing in the colonnade). How one interprets the building and the figures adjacent to and in front of it thus depends on how one understands the inscription. While there is no hesitation about the location, Daphne, the inscription can also be read as 'Martyrium workshop', an interpretation that removes any hint of religious character from the scene.

Sources: Lassus, 'La mosaïque', pp. 133-34, fig. 12.

Literature: Eltester, 'Die Kirchen Antiochias', pp. 280-81; Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* 1, p. 330 and vol. 2, pl. LXXIX.a; Downey, *Antioch*, p. 660 n. 2; Kondoleon, *Antioch*, p. 115.

Thomas, St, Church of

Reference to a Church of St Thomas located at Antioch in the 470s occurs in a tenth-century Arabic source, the *Kitab al-Unwan* (universal

²³⁹ Typically identified as the martyrdom associated with St Babylas. See Martyrium At the temple of Apollo, in Daphne, pp. 96-97.

history) of Agapius (Mahboub) of Menbidj. Agapius, the Melkite bishop of Hierapolis, wrote his chronicle in 942 CE. The question about the reliability of the detail rests on his sources for this period at Antioch, which are difficult to establish.²⁴⁰ According to his account, the rebel Basiliscus (475-76) placed Peter the Fuller back on the patriarchal throne of Antioch without the consent of the surrounding bishops. He ordered the death of those bishops who refused to give written consent. A number of dissenting bishops and monks shut themselves in the Church of St Thomas at Antioch, where Peter had them found and killed. The events predate the burial of the monk Thomas (see Thomas, Martyrium of), which occasioned the construction of a small martyrion of that name in the common cemetery at Antioch in the sixth century.

Sources: Agapius of Menbidj, *Kitab al-'Unvan* (PO 8/3, p. 421).
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 659.

Zacharias, St, Church of

In the sixteenth chapter of Book 17, Thurn, editor of the most recent edition of the *Chronographia* of John Malalas, restores from the Slavonic detail that is missing in the Greek manuscripts in regard to the effects of the earthquake of 526 CE on the city of Antioch. The Greek, which describes the devastation of martyria and monasteries as absolute, mentions only the Great Church by name, claiming that it withstood the initial shock only to be burnt to the ground a number of days later. The Slavonic text adds that the great Church of Michael the Archangel and Church of the Virgin Mary both suffered the same fate, along with the Church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias. No other source makes mention of this building, but the survival in Photius of a reference to a homily by Ephrem (527-45) on the dedication festival of the Holy Prophets, confirming the rebuilding of that church (see Holy Prophets, Church of), increases the likelihood that the Slavonic text of Malalas is accurate in this instance also.

Sources: Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16 (Thurn, p. 347; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 239).
Literature: Downey, *Antioch*, p. 522.

240. Georg Graf, *Geschichte des Christentums nach der Apostelzeit* (Studi e Testi 133; Vatican City, 1947), p. 39, says simply that Agapius was a Syrian monk.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

Antioch (walled city)

- Church of St Ignatius
- Great Church
- Palaia
- Church of Cassian
- Church in the New City
- Church of the Maccabees (= Church of Kerateion?)
- Church of Michael the Archangel (?)
- Church of the Theotokos (?)
- Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian (?)

West (right) bank of the Orontes

- Church of St Babylas
- Martyrium at the Romanesian Gate
- Campus martius*

Northern suburbs (left bank of Orontes)

- Church in Machouka

Southern suburbs (left bank of Orontes)

- Koimeterion
- Martyrium of Thomas

Outside the walls (direction uncertain)

- Martyrium of St Julian
- Church of St John
- Church of John the Baptist
- Martyrium of St Barlaam

Antioch or suburbs (location uncertain)

- Church of the Holy Prophets
- Martyrium of Symeon Stylites the Elder
- Martyrium of St Romanus
- Martyrium of St Dometius
- Martyrium of the protomartyr Stephen

Daphne

- Martyrium of the Maccabees
- Church of Michael the Archangel
- Church of Michael the Archangel at Tretum
- Martyrium at the Temple of Apollo
- Martyrium of St Leontius

Lucia Pieria

- Church in the lower city
- Church in the upper city
- Church of Thomas the Apostle

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

- Constantine (306-37)
 293-313 the Palaia destroyed
 312-24 the Palaia rebuilt
 c. 327 construction of the Great Church begins
- Constantius II (337-61)
 340 construction of the Great Church completed
 341 (6 Jan.) dedication of the Great Church
- Gallus caesar (351-54)
 Babylas' remains translated to martyrion near temple of Apollo, in Daphne
 martyrion or church completed
- Julian (361-63)
 Great Church in possession of homoian community
 Babylas' remains removed from martyrion in Daphne and probably deposited in Koimeterion
 Great Church nailed shut
- Jovian (363-64)
 the 'newly-built church' (Great Church?) is handed over to the Nicene 2 community
- Valens (364-78)
 Nicene 1 community worships sporadically on the *campus martius*
 construction on the Church of St Babylas begins (?)
- Theodosius I (378-95)
 construction of Church of the Maccabees (?)
 387 completion of mosaic pavements in three wings of the Church of St Babylas
- Arcadius (395-408)
- Theodosius II (408-50)
 by 428 addition of baptistery complex to Church of St Babylas
 Tycheum converted into Church of St Ignatius (Ignatius' relics translated from Koimeterion)
- Marcian (450-57)
- Leo I (457-74)
 459 body of Symeon Stylites the Elder deposited in the Great Church
 construction of Church of Michael the Archangel
- Zeno (474-91)
 c. 480 Bishop Stephen murdered in Smyrna

- Anastasius (491-518)
 sponsors rebuilding of churches at Seleucia Pieria
 507 rioter killed by police in Church of St John; destruction of synagogue in Daphne
 512/13 construction in Daphne of Martyrium of St Leontius
 512-18 extension of Church of the Theotokos completed, porticoes added
 512-18 relics of Procopius and Phocas deposited in Church of Michael the Archangel
- Justin I (518-27)
 526 Church of the Theotokos collapses
 Great Church burns to the ground
 Church of Michael the Archangel collapses
 Church of the Holy Prophets collapses
- Justinian I (527-65)
 c. 529 Justinian donates one of his robes, which is displayed in Church of Cassian
 529 relics of Marinus recovered, translated to Antioch and deposited in St Julian's
 new Church of the Theotokos built
 new Church of Michael the Archangel built
 Church of the Holy Prophets rebuilt
 Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian built
 Church of Michael the Archangel in Daphne built (?)
 completion of rebuilding of round church with four triclina (= one of the above?)
 repair of Church in the lower city, Seleucia Pieria
 Martyrium of Thomas built in the Koimeterion, body translated from cemetery at Daphne
 540 Church of Michael the Archangel in Daphne burns down, Church of St Julian spared
- Justin II (565-78)
 573 Church of St Julian burnt down in Persian attack
- Tiberius II (I) Constantine (578-82)
 579/80 Church of Cassian is site of furtive ordination attempt
- Maurice (582-602)
 altar curtains in Church of the Theotokos catch fire
- Phocas (602-10)
- Heraclius (610-41)
 625 mosaic floor laid/restored in church in upper city, Seleucia Pieria

PART TWO

MOTIVES AND INFLUENCES

The construction of a church, whether physical or conceptual, is not random. Why a church is built in the first instance or where it is located is due to a variety of causes, all of which can be determined, if we dig deep enough. A martyrion may be built in a cemetery because a body was buried there around which, with the passage of time, there developed a cult. At some point in its development the construction of a building to facilitate the cult becomes desirable. A church associated with a similar Christian cult may be built at the site of an indigenous non-Christian cult as a form of *damnatio memoriae*.¹ Similarly a church may be converted from a synagogue or temple.² A cathedral might be situated next to the imperial palace to facilitate the interplay between secular and spiritual authority.³ In one century churches containing relics will be located solely outside the official city boundary, in another also inside the city walls as the taboo on the burial of human remains within a city is gradually overwritten by a new understanding of the purifying effect of a martyr's relics.⁴ An earthquake, fire or army might destroy a church, necessitating its rebuilding. Churches naturally fall

1. As was the case with the cult of Michael the Archangel. See Bernadette Martin-Hisard, 'Le culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin (VIII^e-XI^e siècles)', in Carlo Carletti and Giorgio Otranto (eds.), *Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo* (Bari, 1994), pp. 351-73 at pp. 351-52; Pierre Canivet, 'Le Michaelion de Hâarte (V^e s.) et le culte syrien des anges', *Byz.* 50 (1980), pp. 85-117 at p. 100.

2. See Part One regarding the churches of St Ignatius and St Leontius, and also the case of a synagogue conversion at Gerasa (Jerash) in J.W. Crowfoot, 'The Christian Churches', in Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, CT, 1938), pp. 171-262 at pp. 234-41 (although according to Alan Walmsley, on the basis of the treatment of the synagogue mosaics, this is likely to represent mass conversion on the part of the Jewish congregation rather than a takeover of the premises). His view runs counter to that of Annabel J. Wharton, 'Erasure: Eliminating the Space of Late Ancient Judaism', in Lee I. Levine and Zeev Weiss (eds.), *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity* (JRA supp. series 40; Portsmouth, RI, 2000), pp. 195-214, who interprets the conversion as an example of conscious erasure.

3. At Constantinople the Great Church and palace were in close proximity. Analogies have been drawn with Split and Ravenna. For a summary of scholarship on this issue see Friedrich W. Deichmann, 'Das Oktogon von Antiocheia: Heroon-Martyrion, Palastkirche oder Kathedrale?', *BZ* 65 (1972), pp. 40-56 at pp. 42-46.

4. See Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 15-16.

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1. As was the case with the cult of Michael the Archangel. See Bernadette Martin-Hisard, 'Le culte de l'archange Michel dans l'empire byzantin (VIII^e-XI^e siècles)', in Carlo Carletti and Giorgio Otranto (eds.), *Culto e insediamenti micaelici nell'Italia meridionale fra tarda antichità e medioevo* (Bari, 1994), pp. 351-73 at pp. 351-52; Pierre Canivet, 'Le Michaelion de HUART (V^e s.) et le culte syrien des anges', *Byz.* 50 (1980), pp. 85-117 at p. 100.

2. See Part One regarding the churches of St Ignatius and St Leontius, and also the case of a synagogue conversion at Gerasa (Jerash) in J.W. Crowfoot, 'The Christian Churches', in Carl H. Kraeling (ed.), *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, CT, 1938), pp. 171-262 at pp. 234-41 (although according to Alan Walmsley, on the basis of the treatment of the synagogue mosaics, this is likely to represent mass conversion on the part of the Jewish congregation rather than a takeover of the premises). His view runs counter to that of Annabel J. Wharton, 'Erasure: Eliminating the Space of Late Ancient Judaism', in Lee I. Levine and Zeev Weiss (eds.), *From Dura to Sepphoris: Studies in Jewish Art and Society in Late Antiquity* (IRA supp. series 40; Portsmouth, RI, 2000), pp. 195-214, who interprets the conversion as an example of erasure.

3. At Constantinople the Great Church and palace were in close proximity. Analogies have been drawn with Split and Ravenna. For a summary of scholarship on this issue see Friedrich Schachmann, 'Das Oktogon von Antiocheia: Heroon-Martyrion, Palastkirche oder Kathedrale?', *BZ* 65 (1972), pp. 40-56 at pp. 42-46.

4. See Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 15-16.

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into disrepair, requiring that the facilities be upgraded or completely rebuilt.⁵ The use of a building often changes over time, necessitating the addition of new spaces or the reconfiguration of old ones to accommodate new practices. An emperor, bishop or wealthy patron may choose to construct a church to impress their largesse upon a city.⁶ The identity imposed upon such a church may have political overtones. Factionalism within a Christian community may necessitate the construction of new churches to accommodate a newly divided community. Alternatively, the constantly changing possession of a church by different factions may lead to its alteration. The causes are many and varied but there is always a causal factor lurking in the background somewhere. In this section we attempt to place the development of the churches of Antioch in context by delving, as far as the sources allow, into the factors that influenced their construction. The main questions that we ask are: why was a particular church built, who sponsored its construction, why is it located where it is, and what prompts the changes that happen to it?

PHASE ONE

Before Constantine

Nothing is known about the original construction of the Palaia (Old Church) in Antioch or of its age by the end of the third century. Equally, no evidence either survives or has been excavated that tells us how many other churches existed at Antioch in the pre-Constantinian period. Even if we assume that the Christian community at Antioch was at that point considerably smaller than by the mid-fourth century, it seems unlikely that a single church, the Palaia, would have been sufficient for its needs.⁷

5. So an inscription found in Basilica B at Resafa-Sergiopolis in Syria indicates that an older church that contained the relics of Sergius was in 518 replaced by a new church. The church that was replaced had been constructed post 425 CE. See Gunnar Brands, *Resafa VI. Die Bauamenik von Resafa-Sergiopolis. Studien zur spätantiken Architektur und Bauausstattung in Syrien und Nordmesopotamien* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 114–12.

6. See the analysis of donors in Syria and Palestine in Rudolf Nagel, 'Le financement de la construction des églises pendant l'antiquité tardive et l'époque byzantine', *Ant. Tard.* 14 (2006), pp. 47–58.

7. See Magnus Zetterholm, *The Formation of Christianity in Antioch: A Social-scientific Approach to the Separation Between Judaism and Christianity* (London and New York, 2003), pp. 37–38, who argues likewise that the number of synagogues that existed in Antioch in the first two centuries is under-reported. He speculates that for a religious community of 22,000, of whom one quarter are mature worshipping males, at least a dozen synagogues would be

The most likely scenario is that we hear solely about the Palaia because its status was exceptional, that is, it was worthy of note because, until the completion of the Great Church in 341, it was the cathedral church.⁸ This status, in combination with its apostolic associations and alleged antiquity, explains in part why it was targeted for destruction during the persecution of Christians under Galerius and Maximinus (293–313). As Antioch's cathedral and as a church that symbolized the apostolic mission to Antioch and therefore the Antiochene see's claim to pre-eminence within the Mediterranean East, its destruction would in part have eliminated a symbol of the authority that the leader of the local Christian community held, and in part have erased an important visual reminder of that community's claim to legitimacy and status, in addition to the more obvious effect of disrupting in a major way the religious rites that they practised. As we will see in Phase Two, Julian's immediate response when he wished to punish the dominant Christian community was to shut them out of their cathedral church and to confiscate its sacred vessels.

Little can be said about the reconstruction of the church except that, because of its status, its antiquity and its apostolic associations, there would have been strong motivation within the Christian community at Antioch to rebuild it as soon as the political climate became favourable. The question of who paid for the reconstruction is an interesting one. There is no suggestion in the sources that the emperor Constantine (306–37) was involved,⁹ so instead we must look to local patrons for support.¹⁰ That reconstruction of the Palaia spilled over from the episcopate of Vitalis (c. 314–20) into that of his successor Philogonius (320–24) may be an indication that it took some time to raise sufficient money to

required, if one assumes a capacity per synagogue of 300. Taking variables into account he prefers a figure for the first century CE of 20–30 synagogues at Antioch. A similar density is seen in the villages of the Limestone Massif to the east of Antioch, where even in small villages as many as three churches are found (Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 27). In some 700 villages the average is two to three, although it should be cautioned that the evidence there applies to the post-Constantinian period.

8. See Part Three, pp. 174–82.
9. See Richard Krautheimer, 'The Ecclesiastical Building Policy of Constantine', in Giorgio Boccardo and Franca Fusco (eds.), *Costantino il grande dall'antichità all'umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico*, Macerata 18–20 dicembre 1990 (Macerata, 1993), pp. 31–32 at p. 312, considers the first evidence that Constantine encouraged wide-scale rebuilding and restoration of churches damaged or neglected under the persecutions of Galerius and Maximinus to date to late 324.

10. This is consistent with the conclusions of Haensch, 'Le financement', p. 53, that the churches in the region were most likely financed collectively, despite literary claims to the contrary.

complete it. Conversely, however, it could also simply be an indication that, now that Christianity was an imperially approved religion, the new church was built on a larger scale than the original, or that the original building or church complex was substantial in the first instance, which extended the length of time required for reconstruction and repair.

PHASE TWO

Constantine to Theodosius I

The emperor Constantine's motive in planning and initiating construction of a new cathedral church (the Great Church) at Antioch cannot be construed as necessity, since the Palaia had been completely rebuilt only a few years before.¹¹ We should moreover consider the likelihood that, had extra space been needed or had the Palaia no longer been adequate in any way, these deficiencies would have been taken care of during its reconstruction. As we will see in Phase Four, when he rebuilt the recently destroyed Church of the Theotokos Justinian had no difficulty either with relocating the church or rebuilding it on a larger and more lavish scale. The plans for the construction of a Great Church must therefore have been driven by other agenda. Krautheimer points out that all of Constantine's churches, whether built before 324 or after it, were monumental and intended to dominate the local landscape. Lavishly decorated, they are examples of imperial munificence via which Constantine planned both to outshine the gifts of previous emperors and to demonstrate the greater status of the divinity upon whose power he drew as patron.¹² They are also strategically placed—at Rome as the centre of imperial power in the West; at Constantinople as the new centre of imperial power in the East; and at Jerusalem, the spiritual heartland of his newly adopted religion. A second tier of monumental churches was situated at Trier, the site of an imperial palace, and Antioch, frequent site of residence of the emperors Diocletian, Galerius and Maximinus.¹³ As not just an imperial residence but also one of the oldest Christian sees in the East outside of Jerusalem, like Rome Antioch supplied Constantine with

an opportunity to achieve both strategic elements—religious and imperial authority—within a single public act of largesse. It was his misfortune that he did not live to see the Great Church completed and that it was his successor, Constantius, who was to reap the immediate benefit of these rich associations.¹⁴

One other piece of information about Constantine's involvement in the construction of the Great Church may perhaps be adduced. Malalas situates the church on the site of a worn-out public bath, named after the emperor Philip.¹⁵ Krautheimer argues that, while the construction costs often came from the imperial treasury (the *fiscus*), the land for his projects was usually donated by Constantine from the *res privata* (the imperial estate).¹⁶ If Malalas is correct in asserting that the baths that were demolished were attributed to the emperor Philip, then it is not impossible that the land had passed down to Constantine's control.¹⁷ If this is the case—and admittedly this is something of a stretch—then we see at Antioch, too, an example of Constantine's donation of property from the imperial estate for the construction of a church.¹⁸

A number of monumental building projects initiated by Constantine in the East, intended to transform the cities in which they were situated by elevating the status of Christianity and securing a place for its religious buildings in the ceremonial life of those cities, were completed by his son Constantius.¹⁹ Among these is the Great Church at Antioch. While the sources tell us nothing about the extent to which Constantius

14. By the time of Theodoret (c. 450), however, it was nonetheless known in some circles as the church built by Constantine (see Part One, Great Church, *Labels*).

15. Possibly Philip the Arab (244–49). See Malalas, *Chron.* 13.3 (Thurn, p. 244; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 172).

16. Krautheimer, 'Building Policy', pp. 535–37.

17. Krautheimer, 'Building Policy', p. 534, notes among the estates donated from the *res privata* or *patrimonium* for the support of churches built at Rome one which was situated near Antioch, which may indicate that the imperial estate held more extensive property in the region.

18. For a perhaps comparable example in which Constantine, when requested for land held by the *fiscus* for construction of a church in Numidia, donated for the purpose instead a house, which had first to be demolished, from his own estate see Ep. 10 *Constantini de basilica catholica scripta* (CSEL 26, p. 215).

19. The Great Church and Church of the Apostles at Constantinople are two examples. See also Henck, 'Constantius ὁ Φιλοκρίτης?', *DOP* 55 (2001), pp. 279–304 at pp. 289–93. The Great Church supplanted the former episcopal church, St Eirene, while the Church of the Apostles was strategically placed at the end of the newly developed second ceremonial axis of the city, adjacent to Constantine's mausoleum. See Wendy Mayer, 'Cathedral Church or Imperial City? The Situation at Constantinople (c. 360–404 AD)', *OCP* 66 (2000), pp. 1–28.

11. Construction on the new Palaia was completed in the early 320s, or, at least planning for, the Great Church began c. 327.

12. Krautheimer, 'Building Policy', pp. 541–50.

13. For a complete list of Constantine's churches, including their location, see Gregory T. Armstrong, 'Constantine's Churches', *Gotica* 4 (1992), pp. 1–10.

was actively involved in the construction of the church.²⁰ Henck points out that a large proportion of Constantius' projects were carried out or at the very least dedicated while he was in residence.²¹ When it came to the provinces, Constantine more commonly supervised from a distance, leaving the day-to-day construction of his churches in the hands of bishops and local officials.²² This raises the possibility that at Antioch at least, where Constantius spent considerable time in residence during the years 338 to 349 CE, Constantius played a more hands-on role in the local building projects that he sponsored. The three-year lapse between his arrival in Antioch and the completion and dedication of the Great Church on 6 January 341, it might be thought, provided ample time, if he so wished, for alteration of the plans ascribed to his father by Eusebius. From this point of view it is quite possible that, however Constantine had intended the church to appear, by the time that Constantius was finished with it, it represented a hybrid of the two emperors' policies. It may even be that Constantius' plans for the church dominated.

How we view the outcome depends on when we think that construction on the church commenced. On this point the sources offer conflicting information. The *Chronicon* of Jerome, produced in 381, attributes the beginning of the 'golden' church at Antioch to 327,²³ a date with which Theophanes concurs.²⁴ Elsewhere, however, Theophanes, who locates the dedication of the church in 340/1, says that it took six years to build.²⁵ This would locate the starting date c. 335. Theophanes, however, is writing in the ninth century and most probably utilizing the same source as a Syriac chronicle of the seventh century at this point,²⁶ which

20. This conclusion depends on how one reads Soz., HE 3.5.1 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 105): ... Κωνσταντίνος, ὁνομαζόμενος Κωνσταντῖνος τῇ παιδί, οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξατο... Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 348–49, takes it to mean that Constantius acted as his father's representative in the construction of the building when he was at Antioch in 333. It is more likely, however, that Sozomen uses the term ὁνομαζόμενος to emphasise Constantine's role in starting the church and to minimize Constantius' role in completing it, thus preserving the attribution of the church to Constantine.

21. Henck, 'Constantius', p. 280.

22. Krautheimer, 'Building Policy', pp. 512–16. Although Henck, 'Constantius', p. 293, points out that at Constantinople, where Constantius rarely resided, the majority of the imperially-funded construction work was probably carried out via the urban prefect.

23. Jerome, *Chron.* 276 olymp. 21 (Helm, pp. 221–32).

24. Theoph., *Chron.* AM 5819 (De Boor I, p. 28; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 45).

25. Theoph., *Chron.* AM 5833 (De Boor I, p. 26; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 40).

26. See Mango and Scott, p. 61 n. 5, and cf. *Byz. Chron.* 102–103 (trans. Mango and Scott, p. 130; trans. Chabot, p. 102), which claims that the church took three years to build. For the use by Jerome, Theophanes, the Syriac chronicle in the ninth century and the Arabic chronicle of a common source see Richard W. Burgess, *Studies in Byzantine and Arabic Chronography* (Historia

leads to the suspicion that the six-year construction span that he records derives less from fact than confusion in the tradition. Greater reliance can perhaps be placed on Socrates, who, writing in the 440s, claims that the dedication of the church took place in the tenth year after the laying of the church's foundation.²⁷ His claim locates the start of construction in 330. Even if we accept a delay of several years between the conception of the church and the breaking of ground for its construction (perhaps it took a while to demolish the baths and prepare the site to receive the foundations), Socrates' proposed construction span nonetheless places progress on the structure of the church at an advanced stage when Constantius took over the project. In this light Henck's proposal that Constantius contributed significantly to the church's construction rather than merely putting the finishing touches to it may well be optimistic.²⁸ Unless we assume major delays in the early years, some six or seven years into the project he would not have been in a position to make any substantial alteration to the structure of the church. The date at which Constantius sent out invitations to bishops to attend its dedication may also reduce the time available. Sara Parvis argues that the dedication synod began already in December 340 and that the invitations were sent out in the summer of that year, which may indicate that the church was complete or very close to completion up to six months prior to its dedication.²⁹ Any changes Constantius made are thus likely to have been to elements that were scheduled for completion later in the project, such as the interior layout, the furnishings, or the interior and exterior decorative program.

Whatever the case, it is at the dedication of the Great Church that we first find evidence for the role of churches in the power-plays at Antioch that became associated with religious factionalism. In conjunction with the celebration of the dedication of this imperial donation to the city of Antioch a synod was summoned comprising some ninety bishops.³⁰ Although Socrates and Sozomen, who are both sympathetic to the Nicene cause, attribute the synod to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, with the motive of the subversion and destruction of the Nicene faith, it is more

Einsteckchriften 135; Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 114–22, esp. pp. 117–19, and p. 158 (30 a–c). Burgess (p. 293) agrees with a date for the beginning of construction of 327.

27. Socr., HE 2.8.2 (Hansen, p. 97).

28. Henck, 'Constantius', p. 296.

29. See Sara Parvis, *Marcellus of Ancyra and the Last Years of the Arian Controversy 325–340* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 149–50.

30. Socr., HE 2.8.2 (Hansen, p. 97), gives the figure 90; Soz., HE 3.5.2 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 105) gives 97.

likely that it was Constantius who initiated it and who saw the occasion as an opportunity to achieve religious conformity within the East. His strategy was to have the synod ratify a creed that was sufficiently ambiguous to appeal to moderates within both Nicene and homoian Christian communities.³¹ This was not the first time that a newly built church and broader imperial and ecclesiastical interests had been linked,³² nor, at Antioch, would it be the last.³³

If we accept that the inscription attributed by Malalas (*Chron.* 13.17) to the Great Church at Antioch was originally attached on the contrary to a church constructed ten or more years later during the residency at Antioch of the caesar Gallus (351–54),³⁴ then Constantius is credited with sponsorship of a second church at Antioch. While Woods, who puts forward the argument that the inscription has been misattributed by Malalas, prefers to associate the inscription with the martyrdom in Daphne built within the *temenos* of the Temple of Apollo,³⁵ it is equally possible that Constantius had initiated the building of another church at Antioch, which was completed under the administration of Gallus and about which the sources otherwise remain silent. Socrates indicates that during the period of Meletius' episcopate (360–81), while the majority of the churches of Antioch were in the possession of the homoians, the followers of Paulinus (leader of the other Nicene faction) retained possession of one of the small churches inside the city,³⁶ indicating that there were more churches in existence inside Antioch at this period than can be identified. The inscription, on the other hand, is evidence that Constantius' policy for the administration of construction projects was the same

31. This point is made by Henck, 'Constantius', pp. 296–97, who argues that the synod could only have been summoned by the emperor at this time and 'not a mere bishop'. Parvis, *Marcellus*, pp. 146–78, details the complex imperial and religious politics behind the synod and the creed that it promulgated. For the content of the creed see Socr., *HE* 2.8–10 (Hansen, pp. 97–101); Soz., *HE* 3.5 (Bidez and Hansen, pp. 105–107), who promote it as the first step in an homoian strategy of using successive synods to whittle away the distinctive elements in Nicene doctrine.

32. Constantine had used the opportunity presented by the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in 336 to convene a council. See Henck, 'Constantius', p. 297, who names it the church of the Holy Resurrection and locates the dedication in 335.

33. See Phase Four for the case of a synod summoned in the sixth century by the Antiochene bishop Ephrem at the dedication of one of the churches usually under the emperor's patronage. It is of interest to note that in both cases the synod was the outcome of the emperor's policy of directed towards the presiding bishop, while the emperor's interests were engaged emerged unscathed.

34. For the inscription see Part One, p. 108.

35. David Woods, 'Malalas, "Constantius", and the inscription from Antioch', *JCS* 29 (2005), pp. 54–62.

36. Socr., *HE* 3.5.4 (Hansen, p. 204); Cf. Soz., *HE* 3.5.5 (Hansen, p. 212).

as that of earlier emperors when he was not in residence.³⁷ Constantius' involvement in the project is in little more than name only; Gallus most likely had a more direct hand in its supervision; and a *comes* who held the office of *cubicularius* (Gorgonius) was involved at the local level in carrying out the project.³⁸

It is during the residency of Gallus at Antioch that we observe the beginning of a series of events in which religious buildings are more explicitly drawn into imperial and ecclesiastical discourse and become a significant part of the polemic between competing religions and religious factions. It is for this period that we also have the clearest evidence of new churches being built in strategic locations to serve a particular imperial or episcopal agenda. The series of events in question begins in the time of Gallus, continues through the reigns of Julian (361–63) and Valens (364–78) and culminates during the episcopate at Antioch of Meletius (360–81).³⁹ Its antecedents lie in the martyrdom of Babylas, an earlier bishop of Antioch, in the mid-third century.⁴⁰ At that time the martyr's body was buried locally, most likely in the common cemetery, perhaps even at that time in the martyrdom known as the Koimeterion.⁴¹ The Koimeterion, as noted in Part One, lay outside the southern walls of Antioch alongside the road leading up to Daphne. Daphne was at that time associated almost exclusively with non-Christian religions. It was the site of a number of important temples to Greek gods (in particular,

37. From 351–54 Constantius was on campaign in the West. For a summary of his movements see Gilbert Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Bibliothèque Byzantine Études, 7; Paris, 1974), p. 81.

38. Woods, 'Malalas', pp. 58–59, argues that a *cubicularius* would not have had oversight of such a project. See, however, Gianfranco Agosti, 'Miscellanea epigrafica I. Note letterarie e carmi epigrafici tardoantichi', *Medioevo Greco* 5 (2005), pp. 1–30 at pp. 26–28, who argues contra Woods that the final line of the inscription can only be interpreted to mean that the *comes* Gorgonius carried out the work in his capacity as *cubicularius* (imperial chamberlain). Malalas (*Chron.* 13.3; Thurn, p. 244.40–44; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, pp. 172–73) claims that Constantine initially gave oversight of the construction of the Great Church, the basilica of Rufinus and a hospice at Antioch to a newly appointed local magistrate (Plutarch), but the title that he records is inaccurate, as also the claim that Constantine passed through Antioch at this period, and so the reliability of his source in this instance is uncertain.

39. The argument that follows was first presented at the conference *Shifting Frontiers VII*, 21–22 March 2007, University of Colorado, Boulder, and is adapted from the version published in the proceedings. See Wendy Mayer, 'Antioch and the Intersection between Religious Institutionalism, Place and Power in late Antiquity', in Noel Lenski and Andrew Cain (eds.), *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Aldershot, 2009), pp. 357–61.

40. Babylas was killed at Antioch c. 250 under the emperor Decius (249–51). While the sources do not explicitly tell us this, this is the most logical conclusion given the number of Christian martyr burials situated in that location by the time of Julian. See Part One, Koimeterion, and literature there.

Apollo and Zeus),⁴² contained at least one significant Jewish healing shrine and a synagogue,⁴³ and was the site of a variety of festivals or spectacles with their origins in Graeco-Roman cults.⁴⁴ Almost a century after Babylas' death, Gallus had the body disinterred and the relics translated to Daphne to a martyrion that had been built within the *temenos* of the temple of Apollo.⁴⁵ Whether the martyrion had been purpose-built to house the relics of Babylas or was already under construction,⁴⁶ its location was clearly a political choice, since it violated a long-standing taboo on the burial of bodies in sacred spaces and was a direct insult to the cult of Apollo.⁴⁷ Sozomen attributes the decision to Gallus' Christian background, his reverence for those martyred for the faith and a desire to purify Daphne of 'pagan' superstition.⁴⁸ Implicit in his attribution of this motive is a discourse of power—in this case the power of the martyr's relics to purify space through the expulsion of non-Christian supernatural entities.⁴⁹

42. See Libanius, *Or.* 11.236 (Foerster 1, p. 520). For temples of Hecate and Nemesis see Malalas, *Chron.* 12.38 (Thurn, p. 237; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 167). For a temple of Artemis see Malalas, *Chron.* 10.9 and 11.11 (Thurn, pp. 178, 209; trans. Jeffreys et al., pp. 124, 146), who claims that both Tiberius and Trajan built one, but is most likely confused.

43. See John Chrys., *Adv. lud.* or. 1 (PG 48, 852.1–8 and 855.59–61). The later conversion of this Jewish healing shrine into a Christian martyrion and the associated reframing of the source of its power as Christian is an example of a kind of appropriation of the capital invested in a religious site that differs from that which is observed in the example which follows. For further information on the conversion see Part One, Maccabees 2. Martyrium of the, in Daphne, pp. 92–94.

44. On the Maiuma, held in honour of Dionysus and Aphrodite, see Geoffrey Greatrex and John W. Watt, 'One, Two or Three Feasts? The Brytae, the Maiuma and the May Festival at Edessa', *OC* 83 (1999), pp. 1–21, and Libanius, *Or.* 41.16 (Foerster 3, p. 302), who refers to a festival at Daphne lasting five or more days, which may be the same. The four-yearly Syrian Olympics, of which the last fifteen days were held in the stadium in Daphne, were dedicated to Zeus. See Malalas, *Chron.* 12.38 (Thurn, pp. 236–37; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 167). John Chrys., *In s. Julianum* (PG 50, 672.36–45 and 673.57–674.1) refers to a well-attended festival at Daphne that involved troupes of dancing men, eating and bawdy songs.

45. For the argument that the martyrion was situated within the *temenos* rather than simply adjacent to the temple precinct as is commonly supposed see Woods, 'Malalas', p. 60.

46. Thomas Banchich, art. 'Gallus Caesar (15 March 351–354 A.D.)', (www.roman-emperors.org, 1997), points out that Ammianus Marcellinus, whose account of Gallus' activities at Antioch begins with winter 353/4, fails to mention the translation, which may support the thesis that the church was already under construction when he arrived at Antioch.

47. See Ulrich Volp, *Tod und Ritual in den christlichen Gemeinden der Antike* (Supplementa to VC 65; Leiden, 2002), pp. 255–56.

48. *Soz.*, *HE* 5.19.12 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 225.8.11). Gallus' motivation may well have been less noble and have been more closely allied to a desire to restore his own authority at Antioch over and against that of Constantius. On the troubled relations between Constantius and Gallus and between Gallus and the citizens of Antioch, see John H. D. Rogers, *Constance II et l'administration impériale* (Groupe de recherches de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1981), p. 84–93.

49. For this idea see Volp, *Tod und Ritual*, pp. 282–283, 285–286, 288–289, 290–291, 293–294, 296–297, 299–300, 302–303, 305–306, 308–309, 311–312, 314–315, 317–318, 320–321, 323–324, 326–327, 329–330, 332–333, 335–336, 338–339, 341–342, 344–345, 347–348, 350–351, 353–354, 356–357, 359–360, 362–363, 365–366, 368–369, 371–372, 374–375, 377–378, 380–381, 383–384, 386–387, 389–390, 392–393, 395–396, 398–399, 401–402, 404–405, 407–408, 410–411, 413–414, 416–417, 419–420, 422–423, 425–426, 428–429, 431–432, 434–435, 437–438, 440–441, 443–444, 446–447, 449–450, 452–453, 455–456, 458–459, 461–462, 464–465, 467–468, 470–471, 473–474, 476–477, 479–480, 482–483, 485–486, 488–489, 491–492, 494–495, 497–498, 500–501, 503–504, 506–507, 509–510, 512–513, 515–516, 518–519, 521–522, 524–525, 527–528, 530–531, 533–534, 536–537, 539–540, 542–543, 545–546, 548–549, 551–552, 554–555, 557–558, 560–561, 563–564, 566–567, 569–570, 572–573, 575–576, 578–579, 581–582, 584–585, 587–588, 590–591, 593–594, 596–597, 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martyrium with its carefully preserved empty space as a patent symbol of Christianity's triumph.⁵⁴ This is in marked contrast to Ammianus Marcellinus' description of the same event.⁵⁵ In his account Julian suspected the Christian community of having started the fire and in retaliation closed down the Great Church, their main centre of worship. That is, it was not to a powerful divine act, but simply a political human act, that the emperor, as administrative authority, responded by closing the cathedral church, the *locus* of the opposing religion's authority. Ammianus himself offers a third, less charged explanation, that the fire was the result of a candle left burning unattended by a visitor.⁵⁶ The motivation of the local Christian community may also have had an underlying secular impetus. During Julian's reign concentration of troops in the region of Antioch in combination with drought leading to crop failure brought about a grain shortage that in turn led to inflation.⁵⁷ Since the drought most probably occurred in the winter of 361/62 or the spring of 362,⁵⁸ the crisis was building to a peak at Antioch at the time that Babylas' relics were translated back from the martyrium at the temple of Apollo in Daphne to the Koimeterion. The hostility towards Julian that resulted from his attempts to control the inflated price of food at Antioch may have been a contributing factor to the triumphalist manner in which the translation was effected.

The story concerning Babylas does not end there but continues through into the reign of Valens. Here the story alters from one of two competing religious powers to one of competing factions within the same religion. The bishop Meletius, spiritual head of the larger of the two Nicene Christian factions at Antioch, who had originally been elected to the episcopate by the homoian community, further exploits the symbolic capital invested in Babylas' relics, transforming the martyr into a champion of Nicene Christianity. To place this transformation in perspective, at the time that the caesar Gallus first translated the relics to Daphne the martyr was adopted under the homoian banner, which

54. *De s. Babyla* 8-9 (SChrét. 362, pp. 308-10). The same rhetoric is still being promulgated in Christian circles at Antioch more than a hundred years later. See Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 27 (PO 36/4, p. 571).

55. Amm. Marc., *Res gestae* 22.13.1-3 (Fontaine, p. 129).

56. Amm. Marc., *Res gestae* 22.13.3.

57. Dionysios Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire. A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Socio-economic History* (Bingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 9, Aldershot, 2004), pp. 137-55, who argues that the drought may not have been severe across the region and that the grain shortage was exacerbated locally by price gouging.

58. Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, p. 137.

was the faction of Christianity approved by the emperor of the time, Constantius.⁵⁹ It was the local homoians again who were responsible in the early 360s for the defiantly anti-Julian translation of Babylas' relics from Daphne back to the common cemetery.⁶⁰ Theodoret confirms this by indicating that it was against the homoians that Julian retaliated.⁶¹ Upon being elected as the next homoian bishop in 360, however, it became apparent that Meletius did not share that community's doctrine. His neo-Nicene sympathies led him, on return from his first exile, to gather around him a second Nicene community in opposition both to the homoian community (who simply elected a replacement bishop) and to the original Nicene community presided over by Bishop Paulinus.⁶² Perhaps as early as the retranslation of Babylas' relics to the common cemetery in 362 or 363 Meletius resolved that the move would not be final. He would build a church in Babylas' honour and translate the relics for a third time, reburying them at its centre.⁶³

The location of this church was strategic. Bearing in mind the constraint that a church intended to house a body could not at this point in time have been built within the official boundary of the city of Antioch,⁶⁴ it lay in isolation yet close to the city, across from the island in the river Orontes.⁶⁵ The island housed the imperial palace.⁶⁶ More importantly the church was set next to the military parade ground (the *campus martius*). During the reign of Valens, when Meletius' faction was for the large part banned from worshipping within the city, its main *locus* of activity was

59. The situation was perhaps more subtle at Antioch at this point in time. Pierre-Louis Malosse, 'Antioche et le kappa', in Bernadette Cabouret, Pierre-Louis Gatier et Catherine Saliou (eds.), *Antioch de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Topoi supplément 5; Lyon, 2004), pp. 77-96 at pp. 85-86, argues that Antioch was the capital of homoianism at this period and that Constantius did not choose to reside at Antioch because it was homoian so much as that he was homoian because he resided at Antioch.

60. On this point see Hanns Christof Brenneke, *Studien zur Geschichte der Homöer der Osten bis zum Ende der homöischen Reichskirche* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 73, Tübingen, 1988), pp. 137-38.

61. Theod., *HE* 3.12.1 (Parmentier and Hansen, p. 188).

62. The definitive work on the origins and effects of this schism at Antioch remains Ferdinand Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche (IV-V^e siècle)* (Paris, 1905).

63. Meletius' efforts in this respect are described in detail by John Chrysostom, *De s. Babyla* 10 (SChrét. 362, pp. 310-12).

64. In the East at this early period it was only at Constantinople that the taboo on burial was overridden by an imperial agenda and relics translated to buildings inside the city walls. Concerning the first documented instance of the importation of relics into the city see Richard W. Burgess, 'The Passio s. Artemii, Philostorgius, and the Dates of the Invention and Translation of the relics of Sts Andrew and Luke', *AB* 121 (2003), pp. 5-36.

65. See Part One, Babylas, St. Church of, and fig. 4 no. 16 (12-13 F-G).

66. See Libanius, *Or.* 11.205-206 (Foerster 1, pp. 507-508).

on the *campus martius*.⁶⁷ The location of a church housing a martyr attributed with defiance of an emperor and his religion on the edge of space marked out as sacred by a non-compliant faction of Christianity within view of the palace of an emperor (Valens) who supported an opposing faction of Christianity (homoian) could not have failed to be charged with political significance. The church was large, it would have been one of the first buildings that struck the eye of a visitor to the city arriving across the Orontes valley plain,⁶⁸ and, like the ruined temple of Apollo at Daphne, was likely to have been read (by the Nicene community, at least) as proclaiming the power of the true God. Not long before, Babylas had been hailed as a champion of homoian Christianity against the false gods worshipped by Julian. Under Meletius, Babylas was now remarketed as a champion of Nicene Christianity against the false Christianity of the emperor Valens. By the time that Theodosius I, who succeeded Valens, proclaimed Nicene Christianity as the officially endorsed religion in 381 the building was poised to act as a potent symbol of Nicene Christianity's triumph. Meletius, who died while presiding in Constantinople over the ecumenical synod summoned in 381 by Theodosius I, was conveyed back to Antioch in triumph and his body interred, as he had planned in advance, in the very centre of the church in close proximity to Babylas.⁶⁹ The addition to the church of the body of Meletius would have had the dual effect of instantly elevating Meletius' own status to that of martyr-bishop and saint, and removing any lingering question that Babylas was Nicene, securing the domination of Meletius' Nicene faction at Antioch.

The Nicene bias of the sources that describe these events, while instructive for understanding the role of churches in the rivalry between and within religions at this period, may well also be responsible for a form of *damnatio memoriae*. It is noteworthy that the construction or enhancement of not a single church is attributed by them to the emperor Valens. This circumstance is suspicious in light of Malalas' attribution to

Valens of substantial embellishment of the city,⁷⁰ in light of Valens' prolonged residence in Antioch,⁷¹ and in light of the precedent set by Constantine. It is also of concern when we consider that it appears that Valens took a personal interest in religious affairs at Antioch, ensuring that the Nicene community led by Meletius found it difficult to establish a consistent base outside the city walls and being responsible for at least one of Meletius' three exiles.⁷² When we also consider that of the thirty-one churches that we have been able to document with any certainty in Part One the sources provide evidence of the origins of only nine,⁷³ it is not unreasonable to suppose that, like Constantine and Constantius before him, Valens founded churches as part of his legacy to the city that hosted his court. Since any church founded by him would have been tainted with the association of homoianism and have been handed initially into the control of Euzoios, the homoian bishop at that time, it is not unreasonable to suppose that under subsequent emperors, when Nicene Christianity had once again gained favour, the church's origins would have been conveniently glossed over. Had homoian sources for this period survived, the results might have been quite otherwise.

A rare concrete example of how one Christian faction dealt with the problems raised by the alternating possession and dispossession of churches in and around Antioch during these decades is provided in the case of the martyrrium at the Romanesque Gate. It raises the larger question of what alterations the leaders of the different Christian factions at Antioch required of these buildings in order to promote and preserve doctrinal purity.⁷⁴ In this particular instance the stimulus for concern

70. Malalas, *Chron.* 13.30 (Thurn, p. 261; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 184), mentions a forum, which included vaulting over the torrent Parmenius, demolition of the old Kaisarion, construction of a basilica, its beautification along with that of three other basilicas, the erection of imperial statues, the conversion of the old gladiatorial arena into a *kynegeion*, and the construction of public baths. His other projects are glossed over as 'many other wonderful constructions'.

71. For military reasons Valens based himself at Antioch and also Hierapolis in the summer of 370 and then from 371–78. For a summary of his movements during these years see Dagron, *Naissance*, p. 83.

72. For the difficulties experienced by Meletius' followers at this time see Part One, *Campus martius*. Socrates, *HE* 4.2.5–7 and 4.17 (Hansen, pp. 231 and 246) blames Valens directly for Meletius' exile and the expulsion from the churches of Antioch of the Nicene Christians of both factions. He also initially repeats a rumour that Valens was responsible for the drowning of numerous Nicene Christians in the Orontes, subsequently stating it as fact.

73. This number may not be as low as it appears, if we bear in mind that it is possible in a small number of instances that a church underwent one or more name changes due to a change in ownership. It is also possible that different sources describe the same church in different ways, in one instance using a popular label, in another, its official name.

74. The clearest example of a Nicene makeover of a homoian church dates from the sixth century. See Arthur Urbano, 'Donation, Dedication and *damnatio memoriae*: The Catholic

67. See Part One, *Campus martius*. These same points are made by Soler, *Le Sacré*, p. 202.

68. Lassis, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 5, was impressed by its location and, believing that it stood in isolation in Late Antiquity rather than being enclosed by a suburb, and, taking into account the bridge that spanned the Orontes at this point providing access to the island, stated that the site gave the impression of being a gate both to the city and to the countryside. Even if the church was situated amongst other suburban buildings, as would most likely be the case, it would still have been visually impressive.

69. On the procession of Meletius' remains from Constantinople to Antioch next to Babylas see Sol., *HE* 7.10.5 (Bidez and Hanout, p. 313). The earliest reference to Babylas, which dates prior to 387, contained in its source (the *Chronicon* of Malalas), is 'l'église cruciforme', pp. 10–11.

lies with the fact that the martyr relics it contained had been buried successively beneath its floor while the church had been in the alternative possession of the homoian and at least one of the Nicene communities. Continuity of practice in their burial had clearly been observed, regardless of which faction was in possession of the church, and, on the part of the laity who came to pray there, the martyrs were accorded equal veneration. That is, it appears that there was nothing visually distinctive in the floor of the church about the way in which a homoian martyr had been memorialized versus a martyr of Nicene origin. Now that the Nicene community led by Meletius' successor, Flavian (381-404), was in possession of the church, Flavian was concerned about the lack of discrimination. His solution, presumably at some expense and at some damage to what may well have been geometric mosaic flooring,⁷⁵ was not to interfere with the location of the homoian martyrs, but to bury them lower and to blockade them in the floor, so that only the approved Nicene martyrs were distinctive. What technique was used is not made clear in the only record of this act that survives.⁷⁶ In light of what the archaeological evidence reveals about burial practices in the Church of St Babylas, however, it may be that Flavian had the unapproved tombs sunk lower into the floor, covered over, and the pattern in the flooring filled in and repaired so that little remained to indicate their existence. This would have left only the lids to the approved tombs and any inscriptions or decoration that they contained exposed and visible to the eye of any person who entered the church.⁷⁷

The possession by the Jewish community of martyrs that the Christian community wished to claim as their own is likely to have been the spur

Reconciliation of Ravenna and the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 13 (2005), pp. 71-110, who shows that at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna a four-fold strategy was employed which included the legal transfer of ownership of the building, a liturgy of reconsecration, rededication of the basilica under a new name and the purgation of some of the images that constituted its interior decorative program. He argues that in this instance the purgation of the images was intended to disparage the memory of the prior owners of the church rather than to eradicate it.

75. Of the floors of the four churches excavated partially or in full at Antioch and Seleucia Pieria, only one (the church in the lower city at Seleucia) contained design elements that were not geometric patterns. See Part One, pp. 40-41, 57-58, 61-63 and 65, and the survey of geometric patterns in Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, pp. 85-100.

76. John Chrys., *In ascensionem* (PG 50, 441-43).

77. For a more detailed discussion of the rearrangement of burials in this martyrdom and comparison with the evidence supplied by the floor of the Church of St Babylas, see Wendy Mayer, 'The Late Antique Church at Qasbiyah Reconsidered: Monuments and Martyr-burial in Hama, Syria', in Johan Leemans (ed.), *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity: Festschrift in Honour of Boudevijn Dehandschutter* (Leuven, 2011), pp. 203-205.

for the construction of a church of the Maccabees within the walls of Antioch at around this same time. Here the argument is highly speculative, but not improbable. If we accept that the conflicting evidence concerning Christian veneration of the Maccabees at Antioch is best resolved by positing the existence of two churches, one constructed prior to the end of the fourth century, the other converted from a Jewish healing shrine in Daphne some time not before the end of the fourth century but prior to the end of the sixth century,⁷⁸ then it becomes necessary to explain why the Christian community (or one faction thereof) found it useful to construct inside Antioch a church dedicated to martyrs still largely viewed as Jewish, while in Daphne a fully functioning and well-known Jewish shrine dedicated to them continued to attract a broad-ranging clientele. In this instance Vinson argues that the motive was not appropriation or assimilation but once again differentiation.⁷⁹ Just as the lay Christian had no interest in distinguishing between homoian and Nicene martyrs, since the discourse on martyrs suggested that anyone martyred for the sake of Christ offered direct access to God,⁸⁰ so those Christians who used the healing shrine in Daphne presumably had little interest in the precise religious affiliation of the relics that effected the cure, so long as the cure was effective.⁸¹ In fact, since they were being taught to view the Maccabees as having willingly undergone martyrdom too for the sake of Christ,⁸² the disquiet on the part of ecclesiastical leaders with their use of the shrine cannot have lain with the relics. The bulk of their concern must have rested rather with who was at that time in possession of them. Since wresting possession of the shrine away from the Jewish community was evidently not a viable solution at this point in time,⁸³ the next best solution would have been to set up an alternative version of the cult that was distinctive from that observed by the Jewish community. The construction of

78. See Part One, Maccabees 1-2.

79. See Martha Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15 and the Genesis of the Christian Cult of the Maccabean Martyrs', *Byz.* 64 (1994), pp. 166-92 at pp. 185-88.

80. This is central to John Chrysostom's teaching on the martyrs. See Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, p. 30.

81. On the attraction of the shrine for members of his own Christian community see John Chrys., *Adv. Iud. or.* 1 (PG 48, 852 4-6).

82. See John Chrys., *De Maccabeis hom.* 1 (PG 50, 622), where he claims both that the Maccabean mother died for Jesus and went to meet him in heaven and that she died before Christ and brought an end to death. In this way she is framed simultaneously as Christian and Jew, an integral part of the Jewish tradition that gave rise to Christianity. On this point, see also Vinson to Greg. Naz., *Hom.* 15, see Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15', pp. 186-87.

83. Vinson, 'Gregory Nazianzen's Homily 15', p. 184 n. 57, argues that the seizure of the shrine by Christians is not documented before 411 CE.

Of the churches that contained burials that existed at Antioch by the end of this phase we can speak with a degree of confidence about four. The Koimeterion was situated in the cemetery to the left of the road to Daphne as one exited the city, the Church of St Babylas was situated next to the *campus martius* across the Orontes from the island, and the martyrium at the Romanesian Gate is likely to have been situated in proximity to it.⁸⁵ A martyrium, situated within the *temenos* of the Temple of Apollo, also existed at Daphne. The martyrium at the Romanesian Gate had come into existence at least during the reign of Valens (and perhaps dated back into the time of Constantine or earlier), while the Koimeterion had most likely been in existence the longest (perhaps dating back to at least the mid-third century). The martyrium in Daphne was completed during the residency at Antioch of Gallus caesar (351-54). Construction on the Church of St Babylas, which perhaps began no earlier than 379, was complete by 386 at the latest. To these can be added the Church of the Maccabees, which was on the annual festival of the Maccabees clearly viewed as a martyrium,⁸⁶ even though it was built within the city walls and cannot have contained actual relics. Of the Koimeterion we know for certain only that by the end of Theodosius' reign it held the relics of Juventinus and Maximinus

85. See Catherine Salou, 'Le palais impérial d'Antioche et son contexte à l'époque de Julien: réflexions sur l'apport des sources littéraires et épigraphiques', *Ant. Tard.* 17 (2009), pp. 235–50, at pp. 244–46, who identifies the *basilica palatina* as the one leading to the right bank of the Orontes from the main *basilica palatina* (the one leading to 242, p. 114), refers to marriage in the plural as *matrimonium* (see *Dial.* 5, *Chrét.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810,

87. All identified from sermons delivered on their annual festivals by John Chrysostom, who preached at Antioch 386-97. See Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 126-27, 148-49; Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*.

68. The festivals of both, along with those of the bishops Meletius and Babylas, were celebrated at Antioch in the time of John Chrysostom. See Wendy Mayer and Pauline Allen, *John Chrysostom* (The Early Church Fathers; London-New York, 2000), p. 184; Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Love', pp. 140–41; Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 39–40, 49–50.

op. 140–41; Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 39–40, 195–200. For the Paulinians, HE 3.9.4 (Hansen, p. 204), claims that in the 360s the homoian bishop Euzoius expelled the churches of Antioch, but that Paulinus, bishop of the smaller Nicene faction, remained one of the small churches inside the city. At this time Meletius held his gatherings outside the gates of the city. Cf. Soz., HE 5.13.3 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 212), who adds the detail that Euzoius expelled the Paulinians from the city, but that Paulinus and his followers remained in the city for their use.

completed perhaps by the end of 340 and its dedication celebrated in January 341. It was situated on the site of the baths of Philip, which had been demolished for the purpose. Its precise location within the city is unknown. The Church of the Maccabees was most likely built at some point during the reign of Theodosius I (378-95). It may have been located in the district called Kerateion.

PHASE THREE

Theodosius II to Zeno

With the conversion into a martyrium of the Tychaeum (temple to the Tyche/Fortune of Antioch) and the translation under the emperor Theodosius II (408-50) of Ignatius' relics from the Koimeterion to the newly converted church a new step can be seen to have been taken at Antioch. The balance between the perception of relics as a purifying rather than contaminating force and the taboo on the burial of human remains within the city boundary had finally tipped locally in favour of the former. This is the first documented case at Antioch of the deposition of relics within the city walls. It is also the first documented case of the dispossession and conversion of a religious building formerly in the possession of another religion. Prior to this point at Antioch the alternating possession and dispossession of religious buildings had taken place between different factions within the one religion but not across religious boundaries. The practice that was observed in Phase Two was a more delicate game of differentiation and one-upmanship, as seen in the case of Babylas and the Temple of Apollo or in the case of the Maccabees. In those instances the desired effect was not so much *damnatio memoriae* as an undermining and subsequent lowering of the status of the competing religious building and its cult in the public eye.⁹⁰ Now we see the power of Christianity demonstrated not from a distance through differentiation but in an immediate way via appropriation and conversion. Clearly something had changed in between. Why that change occurred

90. A similar approach was usually taken in the conversion of pagan temples. See Bryan Ward-Perkins, 'Reconfiguring Sacred Space: Roman Temples and Early Christian Churches', in Gunnar Brands and Hans-Gösta Svanström (eds.), *From Pagan to Christian: The Christianisation of the Roman Empire* (Stockholm, 2003), pp. 285-98, who points out that the 'conversion' strategy adopted in the West, while conversion of temples was common, was not the first approach.

at Antioch when it did is difficult to explain. Contextually, however, a precedent had been set at Constantinople in the reign of Constantine that was resurrected during the reign of Theodosius I and came into flower during the reign of Arcadius (395-408).⁹¹ Both Theodosius I and Arcadius had personally sponsored and presided over the importation of a number of relics into the city of Constantinople, while during Arcadius' reign the practice spread from emperors to bishops and imperial officials. By the time that Theodosius II came to the throne he had most likely participated in a number of such ceremonies and, having known nothing else, may well have considered the location of relics in churches situated within city boundaries normative.

This does not explain why Theodosius II felt that the climate at Antioch had changed sufficiently that the erasure by overwriting of what appears to have been a potent symbol in the wider civic consciousness would not have given rise to public outrage. The Tyche of Antioch was the prototype for what became a more broadly adopted practice of personifying major cities of the imperial and late antique world in female form (it was therefore the most ancient example) and by the third century CE her image was widely distributed and well known via coins, miniature bronze statuettes, glass flasks, gems and marble statues (fig. 135).⁹² A number of emperors of the second to third centuries minted coins in honour of Antioch with her image on their reverse, an image not surprisingly revived in the fourth century by Julian.⁹³ C. 386 Libanius addressed an oration to Theodosius I

91. For the argument that Constantine was responsible for the translation to Constantinople of the relics of Andrew and Luke on 22 June 336 see Burgess, 'The *Passio s. Artemii*'. In 381 Theodosius brought back to Constantinople the relics of a former Nicene bishop of the city, Paul (Socr., *HE* 5.9, Hansen, p. 281; Soz., *HE* 7.10, Bidez and Hansen, p. 313) and in 391 the head of John the Baptist (Soz., *HE* 7.21, Bidez and Hansen, pp. 333-34). John Chrysostom witnesses to at least two translations presided over by Arcadius and Eudoxia in the homilies *De s. Phoca* (PG 50, 699-706), *Hom. dicta postquam reliquiae martyrum* (PG 63, 467-72) and *Hom. dicta praesente imperatore* (PG 63, 473-78). The relics of Italian martyrs sent to John Chrysostom by Vigilius, bishop of Tridentum, c. 399 probably constitute a third example. See Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 265-80.

92. See the illustrations in Eva Christof, *Das Glück der Stadt* (Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 38, Bd. 74; Frankfurt a. Main, 2001); Marion Meyer, 'Bronzestatuetten im Typus der Tyche von Antiocheia', *Köln Jahrbuch* 33 (2000), pp. 185-95, and eadem, *Die Personifikation der Stadt Antiocheia. Ein neues Bild für eine neue Gottheit* (Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungshäfte 33; Berlin, 2006); Tobias Dohn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin, 1960); and illustrations.

93. See Dorothy B. Waagø, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* 4.2, pp. 57-59 (Elagabalus, various), 60 (Severus Alexander, Type 1.635), 62 (Sev. Alex., Type 2.645), 131 (Julian, Type 1). These are the only coins to depict Tyche in typical seated fashion with her foot resting on the river god Oromasdes. A larger number of coins from this period issued by the Antiochene mint depict Tyche as a bust or a head that is veiled and turreted, e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 40-44 (issued by Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Antoninus Pius). For the origins of the latter image see Meyer, *Die Personifikation*.

that may provide a clue to the situation that Theodosius II inherited. Pleading in part for the preservation of Greek temples that are no longer used he argues that cities nonetheless often owe their fame to them. He also points out that they are imperial property.⁹⁴ At the same time he makes it clear that the Tycheum at Antioch was still intact in the last decades of the fourth century.⁹⁵ This did not mean, however, that it was still in use and it may be that by the first decades of the fifth century the cult of Tyche and her image had become separated from one another, with the image continuing to hold valency. If the two had become dissociated it would explain how the image could continue to have currency, while the removal of her cultic site from the landscape occasioned no alarm. That temples were by law imperial property and that only an emperor could order their destruction further explains why Theodosius II could with impunity have the Tycheum converted into a church.

If we add in the symbolic possibilities of the relics that he chose to deposit in the converted building, then we may have a solution to what prompted Theodosius to this action in the first instance. Ignatius, who had been bishop of Antioch at the turn of the first century, was promoted locally as a disciple and successor to the apostles.⁹⁶ Theodosius may well have been conscious that Constantine had secured apostolic status and protection for the city of Constantinople with the deposition inside its walls of the relics of Andrew and Luke.⁹⁷ Antioch already had apostolic status and was protected externally by numerous martyrs, but it did not have an apostolic protector inside the city. By replacing the city's Fortune with a second-generation apostle, as it were, Theodosius II may well have been attempting to secure the same benefit for Antioch. If this is the case and if Fortune's cult and the symbolic capital invested in her image had by the early fifth century become dissociated, then the conversion of a defunct temple was unlikely to succeed as an attempt at

94. Libanius, *Or.* 30.42-43 (Foerster 3, pp. 110-11). For the date see Albert F. Norman, *Libanius. Selected Works 2. Selected Orationes* (Cambridge, MA, 1977), pp. 94-97. Roberto Romano, *Libanio. In difesa dei templi* (Naples, 1982), 17-22, who surveys the literature on this question in some detail, arrives at the same conclusion.

95. *Or.* 30.51 (Foerster 3, p. 116).

96. John Chrys., *In s. Ignatium* (PG 50, 591), claims that he influenced the office from Peter himself.

97. The claim had in fact been made explicitly by Basilides in the 130s: 'Constantinople now stands with twin towers, vying with the excellence of Rome, as rather resembling the defences of Rome in that God has vouchsafed to the city, like Rome, with a protection as great, since Constantinople has gained the distinguished name of the apostle of Peter' (*Carmen of Relics*, BZ 83 [1990], pp. 51-61 at p. 51).

damnatio memoriae. Rather what appears at first glance to be an act of erasure may in the end prove once again to have been an act of differentiation, in which an alternative and competing source of protection or fortune for the city was being established.

During the reign of Theodosius II additions were also made to the Church of St Babylas. To the original cruciform building there was added a suite of at least three rooms. These were located in the north-east angle of the church and comprised a baptistery, *pistikon*, and annexe. The latter was further subdivided into two unequal parts. An inscription, located in the floor of the *pistikon* at the threshold to the baptistery indicates that the mosaic floor and other work were completed under the bishop Theodotus (424-28).⁹⁸ It is not clear who actually financed the work. The contents of the inscription, which lists in addition to Theodotus the priest and administrator (*oikonomos*) Athanasius and the deacon Akkiba, suggest that the work was carried out under the supervision of local clergy. This is in keeping with the history of this church, which was constructed through the initiative of a local bishop. It is to be noted, however, that at that time Meletius had to lobby the emperor and harass government officials as part of the process of getting the project underway,⁹⁹ and this may raise doubt as to whether the clergy whose names are recorded here were able to undertake these additions to the church entirely on their own initiative.¹⁰⁰

In 459 in the time of the emperor Leo (457-74) the second documented translation of a saint's body to a church inside the city walls took place. This location of the body of Symeon Stylites the Elder inside the Great Church is also the first documented case of the use of the cathedral of Antioch for such purposes. The motive on this occasion appears to have been quite different from that of the first documented instance, when Theodosius II converted the Tycheum to a church and translated Ignatius' relics to it from the Koimeterion. By all accounts competition for the body of Symeon on his death was fierce, and Antioch, in whose *territorium* Symeon's pillar was situated and which had probably already benefited economically from the international traffic that passed through on its way to see the saint,¹⁰¹ quickly leapt into the fray to establish its

98. See Part One, p. 42.

99. See Part One, St. Babylas, Church of, pp. 44-46.

100. See, however, Haensch, 'Le financement', pp. 53-54, who argues that epigraphic evidence either refers to the individuals responsible for that decorative element only or exaggerates the role of senior clergy. He concludes that churches were most likely financed collectively.

101. See Wendy Mayer, 'Antioch and the West in Late Antiquity', *Byzantistica* 61 (2003), pp. 32-33 at pp. 26-28.

priority.¹⁰² Acquiring Symeon's relics would undoubtedly enhance the city's prestige, with the added bonus of establishing Antioch as the new destination in an already well-established hagio-tourist route. The result: an increase in revenue would have been preferable to the decline or even abrupt loss that would have ensued had the body been taken out of the province.¹⁰³ From another point of view the elevated reputation of the saint made him an excellent source of divine protection for the city that hosted his relics.¹⁰⁴ The motive for taking the unprecedented step of locating the body in the Great Church was thus most likely twofold. By allocating Symeon a unique position in the city's cathedral church the city demonstrated how much it honoured him. The presence of Symeon's relics in the cathedral in turn enhanced the status of that church.

This event perhaps occurred at a time when that building's own standing in the city was shaky and in the very early stages of decline, artificially bolstering the status of the Great Church for a number of decades. A thesis of decline may also serve to explain why at some point between 473 and 532 CE the body was translated from the Great Church to a purpose-built martyrium.¹⁰⁵ If by the last decades of the fifth century the status of the Great Church as Antioch's cathedral resumed decline and the Church of Cassian was increasingly being viewed as a valid alternative, then it may have become important to dissociate Symeon's body from the Great Church and to give it its own unique site. This argument is less than persuasive, however, when we consider that in the time of Severus (512-18) the Great Church was the site of the Lenten and Easter liturgy,¹⁰⁶ suggesting that it still functioned as the cathedral church in the second decade of the sixth century. Other possibilities can be adduced. It may equally be that the reasons for the construction of a martyrium dedicated to Symeon and the retranslation of his body were political, with their roots in the growing division within the Christian community at Antioch in the last decades of the fifth century between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians. One further possibility that cannot be discounted is that the construction of a martyrium to house the body of Symeon took place

102. Malalas, Evagrius and the *Syriac Life* (V) all mention the competition and promote the story of a military escort being sent from Antioch. See Part One, Symeon Stylites the Elder, *Martyrium* of, pp. 104-105.

103. The *Syriac Life* (V) 128 (trans. Doran, p. 194) has the emperor's last demand transfer of the body, resulting in a public outcry at Antioch.

104. This is the motive imputed to the Antiochenes by the *Syriac Life* 128 and 128 (trans. Doran, p. 192, 194).

105. Logically, for Malalas to be able to ignore its original location in the Great Church it is likely that this took place closer to 473 than to 532, which may support this scenario.

106. See Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 23 (PO 371), p. 113, dated to the night of 13-14 September 513, Easter; and *Hom.* 105 (PO 25/4, p. 644, on the Lenten fast, 518).

much later than we have posited, after the Great Church collapsed following the earthquake of 526.¹⁰⁷ This may be one more piece of evidence that the Great Church was not rebuilt and the Church of Cassian assumed its role. In this case the construction of a martyrium for Symeon's body would have become a matter of urgency in order to preserve his cult. In failing to mention that the cult had an earlier history at Antioch and glossing over the existence of the Great Church Malalas may simply be reflecting the current *post factum* view. That is, by that time (the 530s) a large dedicated martyrium was seen as a stronger indication of the saint's status and the honour accorded his relics than a ruined, no longer functioning church.¹⁰⁸

It is during the reign of Leo I that the first Church of Michael the Archangel appears to have been constructed at Antioch. The associations between imperial authority and Michael that were to become patent in the sixth century under Justinian (see Phase Four) are at this point too weak to invoke as an explanation for why Leo chose to situate a church dedicated to the archangel at Antioch at this time. It may be, however, that the healing cult that was by this time becoming associated with Michael offered some incentive.¹⁰⁹ On the night of 13-14 September 458 a severe earthquake hit Antioch.¹¹⁰ Severus, in a homily delivered on

107. Unfortunately Severus, *Hom.* 30 (PO 36/4, p. 639), which was delivered in 513 and which might have resolved this issue, is too imprecise to be of use. He says at the close of the homily that the body was retrieved by the audience's fellow citizens and deposited 'in this building', but does not identify the building in question. He follows *Vita Sym. Syr.* (V) 127 (trans. Doran, pp. 193-94) in describing the healing of the demoniac in the cemetery that occurred as Symeon was brought into the city, which may suggest that the hagiography of Symeon current at Antioch remained the story which the *Syriac Life* (V) preserves (i.e., a version which knows of no other translation of Symeon's body except to the Great Church). Again this is not definitive evidence as it is possible that the hagiographical tradition could have resisted incorporation of a recent retranslation of the body. It does, however, offer some slight support for this third option.

108. This interpretation of Malalas' approach raises questions, however, about whether the details concerning Symeon were added after the edition of 532, since the first edition of the *Chronographia* is close in date to the destruction of the Great Church in 526 and insufficient time had elapsed for the completion of a substantial martyrium, unless the project had been embarked upon almost immediately.

109. On the development of the cult of Michael at sites that were associated with local healing deities or springs see Johannes P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr. Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelskultes* (Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 19; Leiden, 1977), pp. 87-94; and Andrea Schaller, *Der Erzengel Michael im frühen Mittelalter. Ikonographie und Verehrung einer Heiligen ohne Vita* (Vestigia Biblica 169/27; Bern-New York, 2006), pp. 34-36. Rohland (p. 89) speculates that the cult of Michael as healer developed in part in opposition to that of Aesculapius.

110. For the sources see Emanuela Guidoboni et al., *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, rev. ed. of *I terremoti prima del Mille in Italia e nell'area mediterranea*, trans. by Brian Phillips (Rome, 1994), pp. 296-300.

14 September 513, recalls the events. Casualties and injuries were severe. Those who could fled the city for the mountains and countryside. Some made for Daphne, others fled to Seleucia and attempted to escape by boat. Those who were not in shock or too grief-stricken gathered the corpses on carts and brought them to the church in which he is now preaching, where they conducted a Christian funeral.¹¹¹ Evagrius provides details about the impact of the tremor upon the city's buildings. Nearly all the buildings in the new city, which was densely populated and had been built up through the benefactions of successive emperors, were destroyed. While there was some damage in the old city, it was largely spared. Some buildings also collapsed in the Ostracine district.¹¹² Since by this time there were most likely several churches in the new city, we should expect that a number of churches were damaged or destroyed. It may thus be in response to this event that the emperor Leo I (457-74) had the Church of Michael the Archangel constructed. It is also noteworthy that it was only a year later that the body of Symeon Stylites the Elder was translated to Antioch and deposited in the Great Church. This suggests that the Great Church was not affected in any major way by the earthquake and may be a further argument against its location in the new city.¹¹³

At some point in the second half of the fifth century a church was built in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria. Evidence as to what prompted the construction of this church is scarce but Kleinbauer argues persuasively that its status was most likely that of the port's cathedral.¹¹⁴ The history of the episcopate at Seleucia may thus serve to place its construction in perspective. Kleinbauer argues that although the episcopate of Seleucia is attested as early as 359 CE and perhaps dates back at least to the Council of Nicaea, it is not until 459 that Seleucia is accorded the status of a metropolis. It is to the decades immediately following this year that the windblown acanthus leaves of the capitals salvaged from the building (fig. 97) date and perhaps also the style of

111. Severus, *Hom.* 31 (PO 36/4, pp. 652-58, 662). Since an annual commemoration of the earthquake had clearly become part of the liturgical calendar at Antioch it is likely that the church in which the commemoration was held had likewise become fixed and was part of the stationary liturgical system at Antioch. See Part Three, *Stationary Use of Churches and Liturgical Processions*, pp. 182-91.

112. Evagrius, *HE* 2.12 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 83-88; *trans.* Whitby, pp. 95-96). Evagrius indicates that Leo invested a considerable sum of money in the city following the quake.

113. See Part One, *Great Church*, pp. 71-72.

114. Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 94.

the mosaic pavement in the church's ambulatory (figs. 128-32).¹¹⁵ In this light the construction of the church in response to the change in status of the see of Seleucia, perhaps even with the intention of demonstrating it, becomes a distinct possibility.

Little else can be said about the construction or alteration of churches at Antioch in the fifth century, except perhaps to point out what is missing. Daphne receives no mention in our sources, while in the second decade of the sixth century the bishop Severus refers in his homilies and letters to a number of churches that had clearly been in existence for some time. Some, if not in fact many of these, most likely came into existence during this period. One example is the Church of the Virgin or Theotokos, extensions to which were added under the emperor Anastasius (Phase Four). While it had been in existence long enough by the last decade of the fifth century for expansion to be desirable, it is unlikely to have been built in Antioch much prior to the Council of Ephesus (431).¹¹⁶ A second church is the martyrion of St Barlaam. Again, before the end of the fourth century there is no indication that a separate martyrion had been dedicated to Barlaam and it seems most likely that he was buried in the Koimeterion. In 481, however, Stephen, a Chalcedonian bishop of Antioch was murdered while celebrating the festival of the Forty Martyrs in a church outside the city walls which Severus later confirms is primarily dedicated to Barlaam. For how long the martyrion had been in existence at the time that Stephen was murdered is unknown. Severus gives witness to the existence of other churches and martyrion that most likely also came into existence during this phase. The Baptistery, the Church of Cassian, the church in the new city, the Church of St John, and the martyrion of St Julian, St Romanus and St Dometius are all unattested prior to the homilies of Severus, but appear by that point to be well entrenched in the life of the city. It would appear that many more churches than the extant sources record had their construction initiated in the fifth century.

115. Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 94. The same style of acanthus leaf capitals is found in the martyrion of Symeon Stylites the Elder at Qal'at Sim'an (c. 476-c. 490).

116. See Part One, *Theotokos, Church of the*, pp. 107-10.

PHASE FOUR

Anastasius to Heraclius

For the record of the construction and expansion of churches at Antioch during the reign of Emperor Anastasius (491-518) the evidence of the homilies and letters of Severus, patriarch of Antioch (512-18), is even more critical than that of his contemporary, the chronicler John Malalas. Many of the homilies have come down to us with their date and their place of delivery indicated in their titles,¹¹⁷ and, as seen in Phase Three, our knowledge of the existence of several Antiochene churches and places of worship in that period is due solely to Severus' testimony.

The first record of church building activity in Antioch during Anastasius' reign is the erection of the martyrion of St Leontius, allegedly on the recent site of a Jewish synagogue at Daphne. The synagogue was located on an optimum site, immediately visible on entry to Daphne.¹¹⁸ The opportunity for its construction was supplied by the events of 9 July 507 when, during the celebration of the Olympic games, which had been postponed due to the Persian war of 502-506, a mob connected with circus-faction violence led by the famous charioteer Porphyrius attacked the synagogue in Daphne and burnt it to the ground. The charioteer, who had driven for both Greens and Blues in the capital,¹¹⁹ had apparently been sent by the imperial government to reinvigorate the Green cause in Antioch. Later in the same year and also as part of circus-faction violence, the Greens sought refuge at the Church of St John outside the city.¹²⁰ Our informant here is Malalas, who claims that the same rioting crowd converted the synagogue site into a martyrion and dedicated it to the martyr Leontius.¹²¹ Some six years later on Tuesday, 18 June 513 Severus delivered his *Homily* 27 at the annual commemoration of Leontius, the military saint who had been martyred at Tripolis in Phoenicia Maritima c. 73 and was claimed by the patriarch as his patron. Severus had been baptized in Leontius' church at Tripolis

117. See further Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (The Early Church Fathers; London-New York, 2004), pp. 52-54.

118. See Severus, *Hom.* 27 (PO 36/4, pp. 572-73).

120. Regarding both the church and the emperor, see Alan Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Ithaca, 1970), p. 243 for the evidence.

of Niku, *Chron.* 89.23 (Zotenberg, pp. 136-48; *trans.* 1990).
Part One, pp. 89-90.

and composed at least one hymn in his honour.¹²² Frédéric Alpi argues persuasively that it was Severus, rather than the Greens, who, through personal devotion, had the martyrrium constructed and introduced the cult of Leontius to Antioch, using the now conveniently vacant site.¹²³ If this is the case, then Malalas has deliberately compressed events, perhaps to distance Severus from personal interest in the introduction of the cult and possibly also from responsibility for the utilization of a formerly Jewish site.¹²⁴

Although Anastasius' reign was noted more for its fiscal and financial reforms rather than for its munificence, and during his patriarchate Severus complained of the severe financial restraints under which he had to operate, we learn from *Homily* 67, delivered on 2 February 515, that the Church of the Theotokos had received the addition of porticoes.¹²⁵ In *Homily* 83 this addition is said to be due to the generosity of Anastasius himself.¹²⁶ The extension was recent, incomplete, and not paid off, suggesting that the (insufficient) funds the emperor allowed for this project were motivated by his desire to promote the cult of the Theotokos in Antioch because it was acceptable to Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians alike. Since Anastasius had been instrumental in Severus' appointment as patriarch to a city where Chalcedonians were strongly represented, he was also obliged to support him publicly in his office, in this case by building activity. Anastasius also donated a purple robe to the city, concerning which Severus preached a sermon on Ascension, 16 May 513.¹²⁷ It is probable that, like a robe donated by Justinian in the late 520s (see below), it was displayed permanently in one of the city's main churches.

In 515 Severus delivered *Homily* 72 (1 June) on the topic of the deposition of the relics of the martyrs Procopius and Phocas in a church of the Archangel Michael.¹²⁸ The motive for associating Procopius, the first of

122. See Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 54. Presumably Severus preached every year on Leontius, but we have only one other homily on the saint, *Hom. 50*, delivered Wednesday, 18 June 514.

123. See Alpi, 'L'Orientation christologique', pp. 239-40.

124. The Slavic Malalas associates the Greens with anti-Jewish violence and the destruction of synagogues in Antioch twice during the reign of Zeno, attributing the targeting of the Jewish community to their alliance with the Blues. See Malalas, *Chron.* 15.15 (Thurn, *Plinius* 17, trans. Jeffreys et al., pp. 218-19).

PO 8/2, pp. 340, 366.

PO 20/2, pp. 399, 418.

PO 37/1, pp. 134-35, 142-45.

PO 12/1, pp. 71-89; trans. Allen and Hayward, pp. 126-35. On the Church of the
angel Michael see Part One, pp. 98-99.

the Palestinian martyrs to die under Diocletian, and Phocas, a martyr from Sinope on the Black Sea who is variously reported as suffering martyrdom under Trajan or Diocletian, is not apparent. Nor is the reason for their deposition in this church obvious. While the church itself is not new, the collocation of the martyrial relics with the angelic cult does seem to be recent. In the course of his preaching the patriarch advocates a low angelology,¹²⁹ damning depictions of angels in imperial garb. Although his criticism does not necessarily pertain to the church in which the homily was delivered, it must reflect church decoration in other localities in the city and its surrounding areas, which was known to his audience.

The final piece of building activity attested to by Severus is the reconstruction of secular and sacred buildings in the port of Seleucia Pieria. In *Homily* 28, delivered in Seleucia on 3 July 513, he mentions that this was part of a building programme sponsored by Emperor Anastasius.¹³⁰ The bishop of the city, one of the seven bishoprics subject to the patriarchate of Antioch, was at that time the anti-Chalcedonian Nonnus, a native of Amida in Mesopotamia who, at the request of Apamene lobbyists in Constantinople, had been passed over as bishop of Amida by Anastasius in 504–505.¹³¹ Whether we have to see the building program in the port city some eight or nine years later as an eirenic gesture towards Nonnus on the emperor's part, or as necessary for the maintenance of a high-profile Syrian port, or as a continuation of public imperial support for Severus' patriarchate, it is impossible to tell. Ironically it was to be the port of Seleucia Pieria that afforded a last glimpse of their homeland to hundreds of anti-Chalcedonian Syrian bishops, including Severus, who were exiled by Anastasius' successor, Justin I, from 518 onwards.

Although Severus' homilies, and to a lesser extent his letters, provide precious information about existing church buildings and a small amount of building activity in Antioch and its surrounds, it seems that the patriarchate of Antioch during this period was not well-off. Severus complains bitterly about the financial straits in which he found himself, and writes about the necessity of taking out a loan to cover debts and repayment of interest.¹³² This picture conflicts with the lack of economic

129. See further Pauline Allen, 'Severus of Antioch and the Homily: The End of the Beginning', in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Byzantina Australiensia 10; Brisbane, 1996), pp. 163–75 at pp. 171–72.
130. *PO* 36/4, pp. 574–76.
131. Ernst Honigsmann, *Evêques et évêchés: mon, non-mon, non-monastère au VI^e siècle* (CSCO 127, subs. 2; Louvain, 1951), pp. 29–30, 100.
132. *Select Letters* 1.17, 1.8 (Brooks I, pp. 267–72 and 267–72 respectively), pp. 63–66, 41–44). Cf. Pauline Allen, 'Severus of Antioch as Patriarch of Antioch', *Journal of Theological Studies* (2001), pp. 353–68 at pp. 365–66.

decline documented for Antioch and the surrounding region at the time,¹³³ and suggests that the ecclesiastical turmoil in the fifty years after the Council of Chalcedon—a turmoil which was felt nowhere more than in Antioch—had taken a financial toll in the area. In particular the fact that more churches were needed to accommodate the rival groups would have contributed to this drain,¹³⁴ but it may also have been the case that many church assets at the time resided in property, causing a cash-flow problem.¹³⁵

As we have already noted, the death of Anastasius in 518 and the installation of his pro-Chalcedonian and pro-western successor Justin I (518–27) marked a savage revision of ecclesiastical policy throughout the empire. Anti-Chalcedonian bishops, clergy, and monastics were forced into exile. No city was to experience this more than Antioch, whose iconic anti-Chalcedonian patriarch, forced into hiding in Egypt for twenty years, was critical for the ecclesiastical unity for which Justin, and more particularly his nephew, co-regent, and eventual successor Justinian, strove. Severus' successor Paul, the former warden of a hospice in Antioch, quickly acquired the nick-name 'the Jew' and, following imperial policy, was hostile to anti-Chalcedonians. It was during his short patriarchate (519–21) that a conflagration occurred in Antioch, which, Malalas tells us, resulted in a burnt area from the martyrion of St Stephen to the praetorium of the *magister militum*.¹³⁶ It is not said that any churches were involved; it was but a presage, records the chronographer, of worse things to come. All other events relating to church buildings during Justin's reign are connected with the severe earthquake in May 526, which, together with taking the life of the patriarch Euphrasius, destroyed the Great Church, the Church of the Theotokos, the Church of Michael the Archangel, the Church of the Holy Prophets, and possibly the Church of St Zacharias.¹³⁷ Many other earthquakes occurred over the subsequent eighteen months and buildings collapsed also at Seleucia and Daphne. 'The emperor provided much money for the cities that had suffered', Malalas informs us non-specifically.¹³⁸

133. See Introduction, pp. 11–12.

134. See Hugh Kennedy, 'Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia', in Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins and Michael Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History 14. Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors A.D. 425–600* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 588–611 at p. 609.

135. Pauline Allen, 'The Syrian Church through Bishops' Eyes: the Letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus', *St. Patr.* 35 (2006), pp. 3–21 at pp. 18–20.

136. *Chron.* 17.14 (Thurn, p. 344; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 236).

137. Malalas, *Chron.* 17.16 (Thurn, p. 347; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 239).

138. *Chron.* 17.16 (trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 241).

Since Justin died on 1 August 527, a little over a year after the calamity, he did not have much time to oversee rebuilding in Antioch, although he undertook emergency measures and ensured that officials were sent to the city to oversee operations.¹³⁹ The bulk of the restoration activity was left to his nephew and successor, Justinian I, who would address that comprehensively and may have even started to do so while acting as his uncle's co-regent.

The *comes orientis* at the time of the earthquake was Ephrem of Amida, who was subsequently chosen by the clergy of Antioch to replace Patriarch Euphrasius. An energetic Chalcedonian, Ephrem was to play a significant role not only as Justinian's agent in the rebuilding of the churches of Antioch, but also in furthering the emperor's ecclesiastical policies, in which unity of Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians was paramount.¹⁴⁰ For such unity the cooperation of the exiled Severus was essential, but Severus was in hiding in Egypt and administering his patriarchate from there through two managers, the priests John and John, who lived in or around Antioch.¹⁴¹ This extraordinary situation must be kept in mind if we are properly to appreciate many of the motives behind Justinian's evergetism in the city of Antioch.

Let us begin with two events early in Justinian's reign that did not involve the reconstruction of churches destroyed in the earthquake of 526. The first of these, which occurred in 528, is the emperor's gift of one of his bejewelled robes to the people of Antioch, who put it on display in the Church of Cassian.¹⁴² Here we have the first documented step in the privileging of this church, which we suggest became at some stage the patriarchal church of the city. The second event, which according to Malalas happened in 529,¹⁴³ was the recovery and translation to Antioch of the remains of the martyr Marinus from the city of Gindarus, between Antioch and Cyrrhus. These remains were deposited in the Church of

St Julian, the foundation date of which we do not know. Whether Julian's relics, along with those of the ascetics Theodosius, Macedonius, and Aphraat, had previously been transferred to the church is also unknown, but such an accumulation of saintly remains may explain the attraction that the church held for the Piacenza pilgrim some forty years later.¹⁴⁴ We may note in passing the increasing number of relics that were finding their resting-place in Antioch, even of martyrs and saints like Leontius, and Procopius and Phocas, who were not previously intimately associated with the city.

When considering the implications of the earthquakes and Justinian's rebuilding programme for the churches of the city, it is important first to acknowledge that one of the major steps that Justinian took was to reduce the circumference of the city's defensive walls.¹⁴⁵ The shrinkage of the space enclosed by the walls must have altered how surviving and reconstructed churches were viewed, particularly in regard to those that now lay outside the new wall system. The exclusion of the island (the 'new city') from the protection of the defensive system, for instance, is likely to have altered the use of any surviving churches in that quarter, while at the same time making it less likely that those that were destroyed were rebuilt. The 'church in the new city' that existed in the time of Severus, for instance, if it failed to survive the earthquake, may well have disappeared at this point from the city's life. Other important churches that were rebuilt at this time, of which the Church of the Theotokos is a possible example, may have been relocated to a more secure site inside the restricted city walls.

One of the first churches on Justinian's rebuilding programme was the Church of the Theotokos, which we saw was substantially extended by the addition of porticoes by Anastasius I, either during or just before the patriarchate of Severus. If we are correct in understanding Malalas to imply that it was rebuilt in a different location, opposite the basilica of Rufinus,¹⁴⁶ the earthquake may have presented Justinian with a convenient opportunity to distance himself from the anti-Chalcedonian sympathizer Anastasius and to claim the powerful patronage of the Mother of God as his own in his campaign for ecclesiastical unity.¹⁴⁷ In addition

139. See Alexander A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), pp. 348–49.

140. See the old but still essential essay on Ephrem by Joseph Lebon, 'Éphrem d'Amid, patriarche d'Antioche', in *Mélanges d'histoire offerts à Charles Moeller* (Université de Louvain, Recueil des travaux, 40/1; Louvain, 1914), pp. 197–214.

141. In seeing Severus as administering the affairs of his patriarchate even in exile and still being crucial to Justinian's ecclesio-political agenda we take a different position from Alois Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche, 13. Die Kirchen von Jerusalem und Antiochien nach 451 bis 600, mit Beiträgen von Alois Grillmeier, Theresia Hainthaler, Tamas B. Mánóor, Louis Abramowski*, hg. von Theresia Hainthaler (Tübingen–Basel–Vienna, 2002), p. 19, who understands Severus's exile as putting an end to his influence over the patriarchate.

142. Malalas, *Chron.* 18.45 (Thurn, p. 378; trans. Jeffreys et al.).

143. *Chron.* 18.49 (Thurn, p. 379–80; trans. Jeffreys et al.).

144. See Part One, pp. 83–85.

145. Clear evidence of the reconstruction and reduction of the city walls as part of the 526 rebuilding programme remains in the surviving wall system, recently resurveyed by the teams of Pamir and Brands (2004–8). For the reduced Justinianic wall system see fig. 2. Malalas, *Chron.* 17.19 (Thurn, p. 351; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 243). See Part One, p. 83.

146. See Mayer, 'Intersection', p. 364.

the old site may have been too small for Justinian's lavish purposes. Close by, also in a significant move, he built a totally new church in honour of the medical saints Cosmas and Damian, whose cult was located in Cyrrhus¹⁴⁸ but was new to Antioch. The emperor claimed that he owed his life to these two saints who had restored him to health when he was seriously ill. Subsequently he built a church in their honour in Constantinople.¹⁴⁹ We cannot date the foundations of the respective church buildings in Antioch and Constantinople, but it is conceivable that they were later connected with the repeated outbreaks of the plague that started in 542.¹⁵⁰

The plague may similarly explain the prominence of the Archangel Michael during Justinian's reign, at least in part. Malalas reports that the Church of Michael in Antioch was rebuilt after 526 not by Justinian, but by Theodora.¹⁵¹ The empress, we remember, was a well-known sympathizer of the anti-Chalcedonian party and her patronage of the city that the exiled patriarch Severus was still administering from Egypt would have been an important ecclesio-political tactic. Together with that of the Theotokos, the cult of Michael, the leader of the imperial hosts and a powerful patron of the earthly leader of the imperial army, was theologically ambivalent, and as well as the church in question there were another two dedicated to Michael in Daphne and its vicinity, one of which may have been reconstructed by Justinian after 526. Michael is also associated with a healing cult which began on sites associated with local healing deities, and would have been a popular saint in times of plague. The fact that an archangel commonly features on coins minted throughout the empire during Justinian's reign, a practice which began only tentatively during the reign of his uncle Justin I, when the archangel on occasion replaced the previously typical winged victory (figs. 136-37), is a further indication of his significance to the emperor.¹⁵²

The Church of the Holy Prophets and the Church of St Zacharias, the second known to us only through the Slavonic Malalas, were also destroyed in the earthquake of 526 and seem to have been rebuilt soon

after.¹⁵³ Repairs to the church in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria were also undertaken at the same time. In Antioch a round church with four adjoining triclinia, which cannot be identified, is said by Zachariah Scholasticus to have been rebuilt under Patriarch Ephrem.¹⁵⁴ When it was completed in 537/38, 132 bishops from Ephrem's jurisdiction, now ostensibly purged of anti-Chalcedonians, were significantly summoned to Antioch for a dedicatory ceremony in which the affirmation of Chalcedon and the anathematization of Severus played a prominent part. It is not clear whether this event occurred before or after Severus' death on 8 February 538.¹⁵⁵ Also uncertain is whether the Great Church was part of Ephrem's rebuilding programme: Evagrius writes of 'the most holy church' whose dome was fashioned by the patriarch with timber from Daphne after it suffered during the earthquake in 526.¹⁵⁶

Some at least of the rebuilding activity after 526 was rendered futile by another earthquake on 29 November 528, in which Malalas says 'the buildings that had been reconstructed after the former shocks collapsed, as did the walls and some of the churches'.¹⁵⁷ An example of this seems to be the repairs being made to the church in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria, which were interrupted by the second earthquake.¹⁵⁸ Patriarch Ephrem reported the new calamity to Justinian, who ordered that the name 'Antioch' be replaced by 'Theopolis' (City of God) and simultaneously poured money into Antioch, Laodicea and Seleucia, granting their inhabitants three years' tax relief. Justinian emphasized his largesse towards the city with the minting in Antioch of a copper coin series unique to that city, in which the emperor had himself portrayed seated on a throne in a stance similar to that of the archangels minted on his other coins (fig. 138). The iconography was clearly directed towards the citizens of Antioch and appears to have been intended to communicate to them the emperor's special status as a recipient of divine favour.¹⁵⁹

It is perhaps during this same period of intense rebuilding that the Church at Machouka came into being. If, as Haensch and Donceel-Voûte suspect, it was constructed by a migrant community that had settled

148. Procopius, *De aed.* 2.11.4-5 (Haury 4, p. 81), attributes Justinian's largesse to the city of Cyrrhus to his devotion to Cosmas and Damian. Cf. Elena Giannarelli, 'I cristiani, la medicina, Cosma e Damiano', in eadem (ed.), *Cosma e Damiano dall'Oriente a Firenze* (Florence, 2002), pp. 7-65 at pp. 29-30. On the church in Antioch see Part One, p. 67.

149. Procopius, *De aed.* 1.6.5-8 (Haury 4, p. 30). See further Mayer, 'Intersection', p. 364. Penitence, and Appendix, Table 1.

150. On the various visitations of the plague in Antioch see Malalas, *Chron.*, *Famine and*

151. *Chron.* 17.19 (Thurn, p. 351; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 256-57). See Part One, pp. 98-99.

152. See further Mayer, 'Intersection', p. 352 n. 52.

153. See Part One, pp. 80-81 and 122.

154. *Chron.* 10.5 (Brooks 1921, p. 190). See Part One, p. 114.

155. On the date see Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 30.

156. *HE* 6.8 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 227; trans. Whitby, p. 298). On the ambiguous nature of the evidence for reconstruction of the Great Church following the earthquake see Part One, pp. 74-75.

157. *Chron.* 18.27 (Thurn, pp. 369-70; trans. Jeffreys *et al.*, pp. 256-57).

158. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 53. See Part One, pp. 60-61.

159. See Mayer, 'Intersection', p. 365.

in Antioch,¹⁶⁰ one possibility is that it was built to serve the particular worship needs of a group of construction workers and artisans attracted to Antioch by the rebuilding programme. This is not certain, however, and it may have served a group of migrants who had settled in the northern suburbs of Antioch prior to the reign of Justinian, namely in the first two decades of the sixth century. Whatever the case may prove to be, it would appear that one motivating factor in its construction was to provide a community for whom the northern suburbs of the city were convenient with a place of worship that suited liturgical practices that differed in some ways from those normative at this time in north-west Syria.

Unassociated with the post-526 reconstruction programme is the translation of the remains of a visiting monk, Thomas, from Daphne to the common cemetery in Antioch. The translation was accompanied by the erection of a small martyrium, which became the *locus* of a popular cult still in evidence in Evagrius' day.¹⁶¹ No motive or influence can be detected except that Thomas' body was associated with the cessation of a bout of the plague.

The Persian invasion and sack of Antioch in 540 are well known from Procopius' account in *Wars* 2, although there is reason to suspect that his account of the Persians' actions and their effect on the city is exaggerated. The Persians looted the gold, silver and marble of one of the more significant churches, but spared the building itself.¹⁶² While one of two churches of the Archangel Michael in Daphne was burnt,¹⁶³ the Church of St Julian, five or six kilometres outside the walls of Antioch, which by then housed the relics of the martyr Marinus, was left untouched only because the Byzantine ambassadors were lodging in buildings attached to it.¹⁶⁴ The Church of Babylas must have survived this event since Evagrius and the pilgrim from Piacenza both mention it at the close of the sixth century.¹⁶⁵ Whether the Church of the Archangel Michael inside the walls of Antioch and the Church of the Theotokos were rebuilt

for a second time after the Persian invasion, as Procopius indicates,¹⁶⁶ is unclear. It is likely, however, that he deliberately blurs the date of their reconstruction to connect it to this period. The archaeological and literary evidence for this period is limited.¹⁶⁷ One can only speculate how these facilities were now shared between Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian groups in the city's reduced population, which was to be visited by the plague two years later.

From the death of Justinian in 565 down to our terminus of 638 CE, there is no evidence of building or renovation of ecclesiastical edifices in Antioch, and there are only a few references to existing buildings. In part this is due to the lack of archaeological evidence and to the nature of our sources, which cluster in large part around the reign of Justinian; in part too it is probably due to the demographic decline caused by recurring visitations of the plague and earthquakes. In addition we witness the difficulties of securing Byzantium's frontiers with Persia, Arabia, and the Balkans that engaged the emperors' attention increasingly, and a consolidation of the anti-Chalcedonian position after Jacob Baradaeus had begun ordaining a separate clergy, particularly between 553 and 566.¹⁶⁸ Jacob's efforts were to result in a definitive split in the hierarchy of Antioch.¹⁶⁹

Although Justinian's successor, Justin II (565-78), and his wife Sophia were actively engaged in building activity in Constantinople,¹⁷⁰ there is no record of their largesse in Antioch. In fact we have very little information about Antiochene churches at all during their reign. While we have the evidence of the Piacenza pilgrim (c. 570) of the Church of St Babylas and the three children martyred with him,¹⁷¹ of the Church of St Justina,¹⁷² the Church of St Julian,¹⁷³ and the Church of the Macabees,¹⁷⁴ we do not know, for example, whether the Church of St Julian, which was burnt down by the Persians in their attack on the suburbs of Antioch in

166. Procopius, *De aed.* 2.10.24-25 (Haury 4, p. 80). See Part One, pp. 99 and 108-109.

167. Kennedy, 'Syria, Palestine', p. 608.

168. On the missionary activities of Jacob Baradaeus see Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, pp. 287-93. Cf. David D. Bundy, 'Jacob Baradaeus: The State of Research, a Review of Sources and a New Approach', *Le Muséon* 91 (1979), pp. 45-86.

169. See further Grillmeier, *Jesus der Christus* 2/3, pp. 197-203.

170. See Averil Cameron, 'Notes on the Sophiae, the Sophianae and the Harbour of Constantinople', *Byz.* 37 (1967), pp. 11-20, and eadem, 'The Artistic Patronage of Justin II', *Byz.* 30 (1966), pp. 62-84.

171. See Part One, p. 48.

172. See Part One, p. 113.

173. See Part One, p. 84.

174. See Part One, p. 93.

160. See Part One, Church 3. In Machouka, p. 58.

161. Evagrius, *HE* 4.35 (Bidez and Parmentier, pp. 184-85; Haury, p. 240); John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 88 (PG 87, 2945; trans. Wurtzler, p. 257). See Part One, pp. 109-10.

162. See Part One, p. 75.

163. See Part One, pp. 99-100.

164. See Part One, p. 84.

165. See Part One, p. 48. It is to be noted that this was the same church as that of the field director of the excavation. See Antioch Archive, *Proceedings of the Antioch Excavation*, 1935, p. 39, whose grounds for concluding that it did not survive the sack of the sixth century are unpersuasive.

573, was ever rebuilt.¹⁷⁵ The sacred treasures of the city, which had been accumulated since the Persian sack of some thirty years earlier, were taken to safety by a priest.¹⁷⁶ The use of the Church of Cassian for an attempt at a furtive ordination in 579 or 580 is documented by John of Ephesus without further detail, but may be supporting evidence that that church had by this point taken over from the Great Church as the city's cathedral.¹⁷⁷ For the short reign of Justin's successor, Tiberius (578-82), we have only one record pertaining to church buildings in Antioch, namely that before his accession, when the future emperor Maurice was praying in the Church of the Theotokos, the altar curtains caught fire.¹⁷⁸ As for the reign of Maurice (582-602), we know that the severe earthquake in October 588 in Antioch destroyed one of the churches with the exception of its dome, and we may assume that other churches too were destroyed, but there is no evidence of a rebuilding program in the city with the exception of the hippodrome, for the reconstruction of which Patriarch Gregory received funds from the emperor.¹⁷⁹ For the reign of the usurper Phocas (602-10) our sources are blank with regard to church buildings in Antioch, and the only mention of building activity under Emperor Heraclius (610-41) is the laying or restoration of a mosaic floor in the church in the upper city of Seleucia Pieria.¹⁸⁰ This latter event took place during the Persian occupation of the region (611-28) and constitutes important evidence for both the toleration of local religious practices by the Sassanian administrators and for the continued functioning of the port into that period.

PART THREE

USE AND FUNCTION

Having assessed all of the data concerning churches at Antioch between 300 and 638 CE (Part One) and examined what prompted the construction of churches or alterations to them (Part Two), we now turn to a study of how these buildings and sites were used by the Christian communities of Antioch. Buildings are more than the stone, wood and mortar of which they are constructed. They have performative and social dimensions. So churches, too, are more than the sum of their floor-plan and interior worship space. They are often part of larger complexes in which other activities took place. Caretakers sometimes slept on the premises. Commercial activities were at times conducted in or near them.¹ Rooms were set aside for the storage of a variety of items, from the church's liturgical treasures to offerings in kind to charitable supplies.² At certain times of the liturgical year baptistery suites were the site of intense activity; at others they lay idle. Beggars who might otherwise be found in the marketplace or streets assembled at times of synaxis outside church doors and solicited worshippers as they exited.³ As Douglas Boin neatly sums it up, these buildings 'functioned as nodes around which social and religious life hovered'.⁴ This is not a phenomenon

1. On the habit of holding markets at martyria on feast days see Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 17-22. Christian churches were not the only religious buildings that acquired commercial associations. On the function of synagogues as community centres around which commercial activities took place and in which business transactions and affiliations were forged see Ben-Zion Rosenfeld and Joseph Menirav, *Markets and Marketing in Roman Palestine* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 99; Leiden, 2005), pp. 214-34.

2. A papyrus from Nessana in Palestine records receipt of church offerings in the later seventh century. These consist entirely of varying quantities of wheat. See Casper J. Kraemer Jr., *Excavations at Nessana 3. Non-literary Papyri* (Princeton, NJ, 1958), p. 234 (80). At Antioch in the early sixth century pieces of linen were collected by the clergy as well as other non-monetary donations. See the discussion at More than a Place of Worship, pp. 228-30. For the extent of the liturgical items stored in the treasury of even a village church in sixth-century Syria see Marlia Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasuries* (Baltimore, 1986).

3. See John Chrys., *In 1 Thess. hom.* 12 (PG 62, 466 19-29) and *In Col. hom.* 7 (PG 62, 351 8-10) and Severus of Antioch, *Hom.* 27 (PO 36/4, pp. 571-73; beggars who gather outside the main altar of Leontius at Daphne).

4. Quoted from 'The Transformative Powers of Religion in the Late Antique Landscape of Qasr al-Hadid', delivered at *Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity 7: The Power of Religion in Late*

175. On the church see Part One, p. 84.

176. Evagrius, *HE* 5.9 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 206; trans. Whitby, p. 268).

177. *HE* 4.41 (Curetton, pp. 268-71). See Part One, pp. 32-33.

178. Evagrius, *HE* 5.21 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 218; trans. Whitby, pp. 283-84). See Part One, p. 109.

179. Evagrius, *HE* 6.8 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 220; trans. Whitby, p. 300). On the church's dome see Part One, Great Church, pp. 26-27.

180. See Part One, pp. 65-67.

unique to Christianity, but is observed in Late Antiquity in the worship centres of a number of religions.⁵

A number of questions arise from the sources documented in Part One that we will attempt to address here. The first is whether any useful distinction can be drawn functionally between a martyrion and a church. At Antioch the boundaries between these two traditional terms frequently blur, yet at the same time there is some discrimination between the two within the sources. The second question relates to the term 'cathedral church' and whether once a church was accorded this status the status was permanent. How does this gel with the situation at Antioch? A third question is the nature of the role of stational liturgy at Antioch. Studies of Constantinople, Jerusalem and Rome show how processions to, from and between churches integrated these buildings into the urban and suburban topography.⁶ If the see of Antioch was of such high status within the eastern half of the empire, were stational liturgies also an intimate part of its landscape? A fourth phenomenon observed at Antioch is the movement of saints' bodies from, to, and between churches. A fifth is the constant possession, dispossession and repossession of churches. What these practices tell us about the use and function of churches is of considerable interest. A sixth question is more essential. What happened inside Antioch's churches? Here we will explore the flow of movement inside buildings, where the audience and clergy were positioned, and other similar questions. A number of inscriptions found in the mosaic floors of the churches inform us about the clergy associated with individual structures. In a seventh section we explore who they were

Antiquity, 22–25 March 2007, The University of Colorado at Boulder. Boin's view is characteristic of recent conceptual changes in the analysis of worship spaces. For a concise summary of the changes in approach that have taken place in recent decades see Ann Marie Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult and Community* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 26–34.

5. On the presence of kitchens in synagogues at this period see Matthew Martin, 'Communal Meals in the Late Antique Synagogue', in Wendy Mayer and Silke Trzcionka (eds.), *Feast, Fast or Famine: Food and Drink in Byzantium* (Byzantina Australiensia 15; Brisbane, 2005), pp. 135–46. Libanius, *Or.* 2.30 and 30.20 (Foerster 1, p. 248, vol. 3, pp. 97–98), alludes to the role of individual pagan temples as the gathering place and shelter of elderly men and women, orphans and the disabled, and also to the provision of care for them by the personnel attached to the temples.

6. See, e.g., René Janin, 'Les processions religieuses à Byzance', *EBR* 24 (1966), pp. 69–88; John Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228; Rome, 1987); *Antiquity* 3 (2010), pp. 168–69. *De la ville de Rome du V^e au VIII^e siècle. Une liturgie stationale* (Paris, 1987), pp. 1–112. *La vie in urbe et extra muros* (Studia Anselmiana 112, Anselmiana, 1987), pp. 1–112. Wendy Mayer, 'The Sea and archaeology et artium historiae antiquae', *Antiquity*, Acta

and attempt to discover what we can about the personnel attached to Antioch's churches. Finally, we attempt to explore the use of churches beyond the liturgical by examining the two more thoroughly excavated churches—the Church of St Babylas and the church in the lower city, Seleucia Pieria. Both show development over time that includes the addition of rooms that are not part of the worship space. Since both have been examined in the past largely from static points of view,⁷ the question arises as to what additional knowledge can be gained by studying each building as an integrated complex.

MARTYRIUM OR CHURCH?

Labels such as 'martyrium', 'palace church', 'chapel', and 'cathedral' were utilized by art historians in the first half of the twentieth century to categorize early Christian religious buildings as architectural types.⁸ Since that time new discoveries have been added to the structures that were surveyed and analyzed and many of these labels are no longer adequate. The problem lies in part with the assumptions about a building's origins and function implicit in each category, and in part with the greater diversity and local variation to be found in the expanded corpus of churches. It also reflects a change in the questions asked of these buildings, particularly in regard to the eastern half of the Roman empire. Where once historians of art and liturgy applied comparative methodologies, seeking out common types and looking for evidence of broad influences, now archaeologists and social historians are more interested in the diversity that regional architecture displays and seek to explain form and function on a more local level.⁹

7. That is, from the perspective of their original architecture, their mosaic flooring or decorative program, or a single aspect of their liturgical organisation (the *bema*).

8. The works of Grabar and Krautheimer have been particularly influential. See, e.g., Grabar, *Martyrium*; Krautheimer, *Architecture*; and the critiques of their theories in Deichmann, 'Das Oktogon', and Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions'.

9. See, for example, Rebecca Sweetman, 'The Christianization of the Peloponnese: The Topography and Function of Late Antique Churches', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 3 (2010), pp. 260–261, who both argues for and demonstrates the importance of contextualized regional surveys. In Syria and in Antioch in particular this approach is prompted by a shift from viewing Roman-founded cities as generically Hellenistic in type to being subject in greater part to Byzantine or indigenous influence. For a watershed article see Glen W. Bowersock, 'Social and Economic History of Syria under the Roman Empire', in Jean-Marie Dentzer, and Fried Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie* (Saarbrücken, 1989) 2, pp. 168–69. Butcher, *Roman Syria*, represents the maturity of this approach.

One of the more problematic labels that have been applied is the term 'martyrium' (μαρτύριον). Thought to have developed as a type from heroa and mausolea (funerary monuments of heroes and other significant dead within Graeco-Roman cults), the martyrium is traditionally viewed as a chapel or shrine that developed over a martyr's tomb, and at which the post-funereal practice of celebrating a meal at the tomb in commemoration of a loved-one developed into an annual celebration with eucharist at the martyrium in the saint's commemoration.¹⁰ A 'church', on the other hand, is defined by its development from a place of assembly (ἐκκλησία), usually a basilica or meeting hall, and is traditionally viewed as the location where Christians met on a regular basis for worship.¹¹ That is, a martyrium is defined by its public use on an annual festival (an extra-ordinary occasion), a church by its regular use on ordinary occasions (as frequently as two to three times a week).¹² Martyria by nature contained the bodies of saints; a church (at least prior to the close of the fourth century) usually did not. Because of the taboo on human burial within a city's boundaries, before the end of the fourth century martyria were usually located outside a city's perimeter, often in cemeteries, while churches could be both intra- and extra-urban. Martyria were also defined by their private use throughout the year for prayer, leading to the alternative label in Late Antiquity of εὐκτήριον οἶκος (house of prayer) or simply εὐκτήριον.¹³

10. See Grabar, *Martyrium* 1, pp. 31-33, 76-203; Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (4th ed.; Baltimore, MD, 1986), pp. 32-36. For question-marks concerning the link between martyrium and heroon, however, see the classic article by Theodor Klauser, *Vom Heroon zur Märtyrerbasilika. Neue archäologische Balkanfund und ihre Deutung* (Kriegsvorträge der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn a. Rh. Heft 62; Bonn 1942). Cf. Chrysostomus Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, 2 vols (Eng. trans.; Westminster, MD, 1959-60) 2, p. 31.

11. Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pp. 41-43. Krautheimer poses this as a post-Constantinian definition. The origins of churches in the pre-Constantinian period were thought to reside in the use of private houses for the purposes of communal worship. See the recent discussion of both theories and their problems by L. Michael White, *The Social Origins of Christian Architecture* 1 (Valley Forge, PA, 1990), pp. 12-25. For examples of the application of the term Church of Inscriptions 1 and 3-4, pp. 41-42, and Great Church, p. 76.

12. On the frequency of synaxis at Antioch and Constantinople in the fourth century, for instance, see Wendy Mayer, 'At Constantinople, How Often did John Chrysostom Preach? Addressing Assumptions about the Workload of a Bishop', *Sacra Scriptura* (2001), pp. 83-105 at 89-98.

13. For examples, see Part One, *Synaxis Synaxis: The Social Origins of Christian Architecture*, pp. 106, and below nn. 25 and 31. The label was not applied uniformly to all churches, however. See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Vita Constantini* 3.50 (Wohlhausen, in *Antiquities of the Jews* and Hall, p. 141), where it is applied to the Great Church.

At Antioch we find churches that, at least prior to the fifth century, fit relatively neatly into these two categories. Before 459 CE the Great Church contained no burials and was utilized on a regular basis for worship.¹⁴ The Palaia, it would appear, also fits into this category. It was situated within the city walls, contained no burials that we can document, and was used for regular worship at least into the first half of the fourth century.¹⁵ During the fourth century the common martyrium or Koimeterion, on the other hand, fits all of the criteria of a martyrium. It was constructed over the tombs of martyrs and appears to have been used only on special occasions. In addition to the annual commemoration of the martyrs whose tombs it contained, a statinal synaxis was held in it on Good Friday. This was added to the occasional worship services held at the church as a result of the symbolic appropriateness of the location and so does not contradict the strict definition of a martyrium. The martyrium at the Romanesque Gate, which also held multiple martyr tombs and where a statinal synaxis was held on the festival of Ascension, and the martyrium at the Temple of Apollo in Daphne (another church containing multiple burials), most likely also conformed for the most part to the expected criteria.

By the second half of the fourth century, however, we find other churches at Antioch that do not conform, and this raises the suspicion that the categories have limited utility. That is, they are effective for the most part before the reign of Constantine, the period during which the two developments in ecclesiastical architecture retain a close link to their origins. At the end of Constantine's reign, when the translation of relics begins to occur and cases arise where a complete or partial body is brought into a church rather than a church being constructed around a body, the distinctions between the two categories start to blur and they become less useful. The most obvious case at Antioch is the Church of St Babylas. Built in the 370-80s to house the combined relics of Babylas and the three children who were martyred with him, which were about to be relocated for a third time, the church ought by most criteria to be categorized as a martyrium.¹⁶ It was constructed outside the city perimeter (on the opposite bank of the Orontes) and two tombs were located

14. See Part One, Great Church, pp. 74, 78.

15. See Mayer, 'John Chrysostom and His Audiences'. John Chrysostom provides evidence of a congregation that was still worshipping regularly in the Palaia in the late 380s. See Part One, Palaia, pp. 100-102.

16. For the argument that the relics of the three children were inseparable from those of Babylas, see Part One, p. 48.

prominently within the church in its central chamber. Throughout its history many more burials were added. Yet an inscription completed in 387 self-consciously describes it as a church (ἐκκλησία),¹⁷ and at much the same time John Chrysostom indicates in the opening lines of his homily *De s. Babyla* that the festival of Babylas, to whom the church is dedicated, is not the only event held in the church, but rather interrupts another topic on which he had been preaching there. While we might suppose that the other occasion on which he preached there was also extra-ordinary, this is unlikely to have been the case, since he clearly expected at that time to have an opportunity other than the festival of St Babylas to continue the topic in the immediate future.¹⁸ The addition of a baptistery suite to the church several decades later in the 420s confirms the suspicion that the church was from its beginning being used on more than extra-ordinary occasions.¹⁹

At this earlier period John preached another sermon in the church, *In ss. Iuveninum et Maximinum*, which adds further detail. After making it clear that the location at which he is preaching is one in which he recently also preached about Babylas, in his closing remarks he encourages the audience to visit the relics of Iuveninus and Maximinus regularly, referring to them not as 'here' but 'there'.²⁰ That is, although the relics are not in the current church, they are situated locally and are readily accessible.²¹ There is thus some particular reason for holding the

17. See inscriptions 3-4, Part One, Babylas, St. Church of, pp. 41-42.

18. The debt terminology that John uses at the opening of *De s. Babyla* (SChrét. 362, p. 294: Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐβούλομην τὸ χρεὼς τῆμερον, ὁ πρῶν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος ὑπεσχόμεν ὑμῖν) is typical of occasions when he preaches a number of homilies on the same topic in sequence. Cf. *In princ. Actorum hom.* 4 (PG 51, 97 1-5) and *De Lazaro conc.* 4 (PG 48, 1007 8-14). The latter indicates that his preaching on Lazarus and the rich man was interrupted by the festival of Babylas, which may possibly indicate that this is the topic on which he was preaching in the Church of St Babylas at the time. Since, however, in *De Lazaro conc.* 4 he does not confirm that he is preaching at the same location at which he preached on Babylas and the pair of martyrs (Iuveninus and Maximinus), this remains only a possibility. On the place of *In princ. Actorum hom.* 4 within a larger sequence of homilies see Mayer, 'Sequence and Provenance'.

19. The addition of the baptistery may have set a precedent. For an example from the 480s where a church that ought functionally to have been a martyrium may have contained a baptistery see Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5973, AD 480/81 (De Boor, p. 128; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 197), concerning the Martyrium of St Barlaam. This depends, however, on the reliability of Theophanes' location of the death of the bishop Stephen in the church's baptistery. Malalas makes no mention of a baptistery in his account (IChron. 18.6; Thurn, p. 304; festival occasions. See Severus, *Hom.* 73 (PN 127, p. 96). Theophanes returned to Barlaam, the church was also associated with the Forti (Martyrium of the Forty).

20. PG 50, 576 62-577 2.

21. Malalas, *Chron.* 13.18 (Thurn, p. 224; trans. Mango and Scott, p. 145). That they were buried in the Koimeterion.

festival of these two saints at the Church of St Babylas that overrides the traditional practice of holding the festival at the location of their relics. Just as we observed the festivals of Ascension and Good Friday being held at the martyrium at the Romanesque Gate and the Koimeterion for what appear to have been symbolic reasons, it would appear that after its completion the Church of St Babylas became the preferred site for the festival of the martyrs Iuveninus and Maximinus. One might speculate that this had something to do with the triumphalist symbolism that developed in association with the martyr Babylas and thus the church in which he was buried. As we argued in Part Two, as a former bishop of Antioch Babylas was styled initially as a champion of homoian Christianity against 'pagan' religions. By the time that this church was constructed he had been appropriated by the Nicene faction led by Meletius and transformed into a champion against homoianism of Nicene interests. In combination, the proximity of the church to the military parade-ground, where that faction had worshipped during the championing of homoian Christianity by the emperor Valens (364-78), and Iuveninus' and Maximinus' identity as soldiers who died for their faith under Valens' predecessor, the neo-pagan emperor Julian (361-63), against whom Babylas himself had triumphed, may have led to a conceptual link being drawn, with the result that celebrating their festival in the Church of St Babylas rather than at their own tomb exploited a richer set of associations.²² Whatever the case, for perhaps the first time at Antioch it was felt that, even though the bodies of the martyrs were buried locally in the Koimeterion, it was more effective to celebrate their festival at another location.

A similar dissociation of body and cult is observed in this same period in the case of the Church of the Maccabees.²³ Constructed, as argued in Part Two, as the focus of a Christian alternative to the long-standing Jewish cult, the church, situated within the city walls, most likely contained no relic of the martyrs. The relics were thought to lie buried in Daphne, where the Jewish-controlled shrine had developed a widespread reputation as a *locus* of healing. In this regard the Church of the Maccabees conforms to the criteria expected of a church. It is situated within the city

22. Hanns Christof Brennecke, *Studien zur Geschichte der Homäer der Osten bis zum Ende der Byzantinischen Reichskirche* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 73; Tübingen, 1988), p. 145. He points out that the cult of Iuveninus and Maximinus would originally have been fostered by the homoian community, which may be another reason for the dominant Nicene faction later to choose the site at which their remains were located, in favour of another site.

23. See Part Two, pp. 142-44.

walls and contains no burials. Conceptually, however, it meets certain of the requirements of a martyrium, since it is at this site (and not the location of their relics in Daphne) that their annual Christian commemoration is inaugurated. It is unknown whether in addition to this festival regular synaxes were held there or whether the church was promoted within the community as a place of private prayer.

By the second half of the fifth century any boundaries that existed between the two categories at Antioch are further eroded with the deposition in 459 of the body of Symeon Stylites the Elder in the Great Church. The emphasis which the *Syriac Life* (V) places on the fact that this is the first occasion on which a body had ever been deposited in 'Constantine's' church serves to indicate that this is a signal honour, as well perhaps as suggesting that the Great Church had resisted this impulse at Antioch for longer than most. The *Syriac Life* further alludes to the impact of Symeon's presence upon the liturgical practices peculiar to that church.²⁴ From that moment on, for as long as Symeon's body rested there, the church was no longer simply the cathedral of Antioch, but functioned conceptually and liturgically as both 'cathedral' and 'martyrium'. The introduction to a church inside the city boundaries of the relics of Ignatius some decades earlier, translated, like Babylas, from the Koimeterion to a building prepared specifically for that purpose, is a further example of the blurring of categories that had previously been relatively discrete. With the location of a set of relics inside the city perimeter one more important distinction between martyrium and church dissolved, leaving only the kind of liturgy that was celebrated and its frequency as a distinguishing feature.²⁵

How the users of churches at Antioch viewed the buildings in which they worshipped, despite the gradual merging of the two categories and particularly around the 460s when a new type of church emerged, is interesting to observe. In c. 515 relics of the martyrs Procopius and

24. *Vita Sym. Syr.* (V) 126 (trans. Doran, p. 193): 'The bishop of Antioch, head of the bishops, and all his clergy each day as a mark of distinction sing and chant spiritual songs before [Symeon]. Great silver censers of incense are placed before him continually, while every minute excellent perfumes and chosen spices rise up...'

25. Whether in the Church of St Ignatius liturgies were celebrated regularly or only occasionally (512-18) concerns only extra-ordinary synaxes (held on the festival of Ignatius and on another day of the year in celebration of Basil and Gregory). The title in *Hom.* 84 (delivered of prayer (Syr. *bet šlōtā* = εὐχάριον οἶκον), suggesting that public prayers were celebrated in it only occasionally. On the other hand, the term *anaktōrion* was known as the Martyrium of Ignatius, rather than being indistinctly used for the church in which was conducted

Phocas²⁶ were deposited in the Church of Michael the Archangel.²⁷ While preaching on the occasion Severus is obliged to persuade his audience at length of how much angels and martyrs have in common, in order to counter their awe of angels, whom they honour as if equal to God.²⁸ This awe, Severus makes clear, translates into the belief that the introduction into so holy a place of martyr relics, which are earthly and material, will drive the angel away.²⁹ Whereas in the fifth century it had been desirable to locate relics in a church for a number of reasons—perhaps to enhance its status or because of martyrs' value as a direct conduit to God—it appears that by the early sixth century martyrs were becoming marginalized by archangels, who, unlike martyrs, had left no tangible residue on earth and whose proximity to God was greater still.³⁰ The fact that the deposition of relics in a church dedicated to an archangel met with resistance shows both that at Antioch before this point the two cults had been kept functionally separate, and that even when the two cults were brought together there was a conceptual distance that it would take some time to eliminate. It is not improbable that the same kind of resistance was met at Antioch in the first half of the fifth century when Theodosius II translated the first set of relics into a church inside the city walls.

Despite the blurring of distinctions in functional terms, this last example shows that discreteness between the categories could persist at a conceptual level. Despite inherent contradictions between the two categories, how a building was viewed and how it was used were not necessarily the same. In another example from the early sixth century, we observe Severus both delivering a repetition of his inaugural sermon and preaching on the anniversary of his consecration four years later in the Martyrium of St Romanus. In both instances the titles to the homilies

26. On their origins see Pauline Allen, 'Welcoming Foreign Saints to the Church of Antioch', *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 5 (2009), pp. 18-19. Procopius appears to have been martyred in Caesarea in Palestine in the reign of Diocletian, while Phocas is a gardener from Sinope. There were a number of martyrs named Phocas (see Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 75-76) and, while it is not always easy to distinguish them, in this case Severus makes it clear that Phocas is also the patron of sailors, indicating that he is the same Phocas celebrated in a homily by Asterius of Amasea (see Leemans *et al.*, 'Let Us Die', pp. 167-73). The cult of Phocas is already attested in the region of Antioch between 491 and 496; see C. Van der Vorst, 'Saint Phocas', *AB* 30 (1911), pp. 252-95 at pp. 257-58.

27. Regarding the date at which this church was constructed see Part One, Michael the Archangel 1, Church of, pp. 98-99.

28. Severus, *Hom.* 72 (PO 12/1, pp. 71-89).

29. Severus, *Hom.* 72.16 (PO 12/1, p. 86; trans. Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 133).

30. The rise to prominence by the sixth century of the cult of the Theotokos may also have been a contributing factor.

clearly label the building a martyrium.³¹ Since this describes its original function, it is not surprising that, although the building came to be used for other purposes, the original label persisted. The same contradiction arises in the case of the Church of St Babylas. As we noted above, from the beginning it described itself as a church (ἐκκλησία). This suggests that from the very beginning, even though it was built in part as a repository for relics, its primary function was seen to be otherwise. As we will discuss in the section on liturgical organization below, the construction of a U-shaped *hema* in its central chamber assumes the existence of a sanctuary and so supports this conclusion. In this sense, the labels can prove useful. They can provide clues as to a building's primary or original function or indicate how a building continued to be viewed. Caution, however, needs to be exercised. Even when the labels offer a window onto the way in which a building was conceived of at a particular point in time, they fail to describe all of the ways in which that building was put to use as time progressed.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH

It is commonly assumed in the literature about Antioch and its churches that from the time of its construction to its demise the Great Church was the city's cathedral.³² In one sense there is no problem with this belief, since from the time of its dedication it does indeed appear to have played a significant role in the life of the city.³³ When it comes to the question of just how long it enjoyed this status, however, there is now

some doubt. This is especially the case when we acknowledge that the evidence sustaining the belief that the Great Church was rebuilt after the earthquake of 526 and survived even the earthquake of 588 is ambiguous. A further question-mark is raised by the need to account for the attempt to consecrate an alternative patriarch of Antioch in the Church of Cassian in c. 579. If the Great Church was the cathedral church at this stage, why would it have been thought that a consecration that took place in an alternative church would have been considered efficacious? This question is particularly cogent, when we consider that those attempting to perform the ordination were intending to overthrow the legitimately consecrated presiding patriarch. Since the consecration itself was illegitimate, legitimacy must have been thought to derive from the location. When we add in the question of precisely what it means to say that a building was the cathedral church, we begin to see that the issue is not as clear-cut as it at first appears.

In order to consider these questions with an open mind it is important first to acknowledge that from the time of the first bishop who had oversight of a Christian community at Antioch (Ignatius, died c. 110 CE) to the time of the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch John (631-48) Antioch had experienced at least two cathedrals—the Palaia (to at least the end of 340) and the Great Church (successor to the Palaia). For these purposes we define the cathedral church as the church in which the approved bishop or patriarch ordinarily presided, that is, as the episcopal church. The term cathedral is more ambiguous since, properly defined, it refers to a church with an episcopal *cathedra* or throne. If we consider the situation that pertained at Antioch after the Great Church was built, then Antioch contained two cathedral churches, the Palaia and the Great Church. If we next consider that at Antioch from the mid-fourth century to the second decade of the fifth century there were three bishops (Nicene 1, Nicene 2 and homoian)³⁴ and from the 550s onwards two bishops (Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian) who presided over those factions within the Christian community simultaneously, then the number of churches, whether officially approved or not, that could by definition be called 'cathedral' by their users in fact increases. Even if we assume that the same churches were being exchanged among the factions, depending on which faction was accorded possession of the main churches of the city by the current emperor and which churches were in existence at the time, and if we ignore the fact that episcopal *cathedrae* may also have

31. Severus, *Hom.* 1 (PO 38/2, pp. 254-55): Copt. *ptopos pmartyros*, Syr. *bēt sahde* = *μάρτυριον*, *Hom.* 80 (PO 20/2, p. 324): Syr. *bēt šlo* = *ἐκκλησιον οίκον*.

32. That is, that this was the church in which the main liturgy of the city was celebrated and where the bishop presided (Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', pp. 113-14). See, e.g., Baumstark, 'Der antiochenische Festkalender', p. 132, who assumes that Severus preached by default in the Great Church, and Baur, *John Chrysostom*, p. 31, and Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, p. 57, who make the same assumption with regard to John Chrysostom.

33. The earliest evidence that it was considered the church around which the activities of the approved Christian faction centred occurs at the time of the emperor Julian (361-63). In Temple of Apollo in Daphne, it was the Great Church that Julian had closed and from which he banned entry (Anim. Marcell., *Res gestae* 22.13.2. *Πατριαρχικὴ ἐκκλησία*). While there is no clear evidence that the church immediately took on cathedral status from the time of its dedication in 341, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was the case. The transfer of focus from the Palaia, which had been in the possession of the Nicene community, to the new church at the same time that Constantius attempted to promulgate a *novus ordo* would have given added authority to both church and creed simultaneously.

34. We ignore here the year 375 when Vitalis was for a brief time bishop at Antioch of an Arian faction, since there is no clear evidence concerning where they worshipped.

been found in churches used by the approved bishop (or one of his rivals) stationally, it is possible to see how complicated the situation becomes.³⁵ At a minimum four churches would have possessed *cathedrae* at any one time, a figure that in all probability is conservative. How the church in which the bishop of a non-approved faction ordinarily presided was viewed is difficult to say, but it is likely that the laity and clergy of that faction thought of it in close connection with their bishop (that is, as episcopal), even if it was not viewed by the majority as the main church in the city.

This question is important because of a number of assumptions that are generally implicit in the idea of a cathedral church. These can encompass the status and role of the building within a city, the size of the building, the quality of its ornamentation, the wealth it possesses,³⁶ the nature and size of the congregation that worships in it, the kinds of liturgies that are performed there and the number, status and duties of the associated clergy. In short, it is generally supposed that all of these are greater in number or size and more developed and elaborate than in any other church. A further set of assumptions surrounds the location of a 'cathedral', namely that it is a topographical focal point and is situated inside the city walls.

To what degree are these assumptions justified? For a start, although it is probable that when it was first constructed the Great Church was the biggest, most expensive and most elaborately decorated church in Antioch,³⁷ it is not certain for what length of time it maintained that status. When it was completed in the 380s, the Church of St Babylas would have constituted a significant rival. At 66 m in diameter it is likely that this new church was comparatively larger. It far outstrips other central-plan buildings constructed in Syria in the fourth to fifth centuries, among which the tetraconch 'cathedral' at Bosra (38 m x 50 m) is considered impressive.³⁸ Since at this period diameters in the 30-40 metre range are

35. For a similar degree of complexity see Mayer, 'Cathedral Church', concerning the situation at Constantinople in the second half of the fourth century.

36. For the automatic assumption that the church that Khuzar raided at Antioch in 540 was the Great Church because of its vast stores of gold and silver and its marble columns see Downey, *Antioch*, p. 344.

37. Even if we treat Eusebius' description of the church with suspicion, the financial basis for the reconstruction of the Palaia appears to have differed from that of the Great Church, the former was most likely raised locally, whereas the latter was Constantine sponsored. His motive for producing a church that would be a rival was also greater (see Part Two, pp. 129-31).

38. See Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Function', p. 147.

more normal,³⁹ it is not unreasonable to speculate that in the second decade of the fourth century when Constantine put forward his original plans for the Great Church, if it was his desire to produce a church that would be considered astonishing at the time, he would have been obliged to have designed for his purposes a building little more than 40 m in diameter. The point to be made here is that what at first might seem large and spectacular ceases to be so with time, particularly as the criteria by which a building might be judged alter. The addition of each new church in a city or region adds a new example by which such criteria are to be assessed, inevitably changing the perspective from which the local inhabitants will have viewed earlier examples. Like the distinction between 'martyrium' and 'church', size and ornamentation are most effective as distinguishing criteria only at the very beginning. As time passes, as new churches appear on the scene built according to changing tastes, their effectiveness decreases.

Within only a few decades the Church of St Babylas will have altered the view of the Great Church from another perspective. It is widely assumed that in the fourth century the most elaborate liturgies were celebrated centrally in the 'cathedral' church.⁴⁰ This is particularly the case with baptism. If we draw an analogy with the situation that pertained at Constantinople early in the fifth century, the laity believed that baptism was less efficacious if it was not performed by the bishop's hand.⁴¹ While we might assume that at the beginning baptisteries were usually attached to the 'cathedral' church, like *cathedrae* the situation becomes more complicated when we consider both the development of a new cathedral and the addition of baptisteries to other local churches. At Antioch the Palaia must have had some facility for the performance of baptisms. Did this close down when the Great Church became the new cathedral? Or were baptisms now performed in both locations? After all, when a baptistery suite was added to the Church of St Babylas in the 420s, it can only have been added because it was about to become customary for baptisms to be performed there also. If we assume that the baptistery that Severus

39. See, e.g., the comparison of the tetraconches at Apamea and Seleucia Pieria in Bally, 'Le groupe épiscopal', p. 189. The central-plan church at Resafa dates from the early sixth century but demonstrates similar dimensions: Gunnar Brands, *Resafa VI. Die Bauornamentik von Resafa-Sergiopolis. Studien zur spätantiken Architektur und Bauausstattung in Syrien und Nordmesopotamien* (Mainz, 2002), pp. 123-24.

40. See Robert Taft in describing the development of the Byzantine liturgy in Constantinople, variously of the 'cathedral rite' of the Great Church or the 'cathedral office' (by which he means both Hagia Sophia and the imperial capital). See Robert Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, MN, 1992), pp. 18-41.

41. See John Chrys., *De regressu* 15 (Wenger, p. 120).

mentions in the second decade of the sixth century was associated with the Great Church, we might also be led to assume that it had been in continuous use from the time of that church's dedication.⁴² Both examples of baptisteries that have been excavated at Antioch and in Seleucia Pieria, however, were not constructed as part of the original building, but were added some decades later. If we believe with Kleinbauer that the tetraconch church in the lower city of Seleucia was purpose-built as its cathedral, then we have an example where a 'cathedral' church was built without a baptistery and the baptistery was added some decades later.⁴³ This raises the possibility that any baptistery that became associated with the Great Church was likewise not original to the building, but added only after a lapse of time. In the case of both the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria and the Great Church this may well have been because in both instances those churches replaced in status another church that had been functioning as the main episcopal church of that Christian community. If that is so, an attachment to the older church as the proper place to conduct baptism may have persisted and it may have taken some decades for the performance of baptism to be transferred.⁴⁴ The use of the older episcopal church as a subsidiary episcopal church for a transitional period would have resulted, giving rise to the use of the older church stationarily.⁴⁵ A comparable situation appears to have occurred at Constantinople when we observe the relationship in the second half of the fourth century and early fifth century between the Church of St Eirene and the Great Church, which on its completion in 360 assumed the former's episcopal status.⁴⁶ Perhaps of even greater interest in that

42. See Part One, 2.4 Baptistery, pp. 114-15.

43. For the argument that the original church was built in the second half of the fifth century, whereas the baptistery was added in a second phase of construction following the earthquake of 526 see Part One, Church 4. In Seleucia Pieria (lower city), pp. 59-60.

44. In *De s. pentecoste*, which appears to have been delivered in the Palaia at an unknown point during John Chrysostom's presbyterate (386-97), it is clear that baptism had occurred during the course of the previous night (PG 50, 457 58-61). The holding of a synaxis in the Palaia the next morning may suggest that it was a baptistery attached to the Palaia that was used on this occasion.

45. A hint that this relationship existed between the Palaia and Great Church in John Chrysostom's time is perhaps to be found in *In s. Luctanum* (PG 50, 521 3-10). There John indicates that Epiphany had been celebrated in the Palaia on the previous day, but that it is some time since the audience had worshipped in it. Likewise in *De s. pentecoste hom. 1*, which (see PG 50, 458 47-51), which indicates that the church was the chief liturgical celebration in Antioch on that day. In this case, however, the question of the chief liturgical attendance at the church on the preceding day is not raised, and the question about the lower (whether during the period between Easter and Pentecost) was in continual use is unknown.

46. See Mayer, 'Cathedral Church'.

instance is the observation that for a while the Church of St Eirene and the Great Church shared the same clergy and operated as the same administrative entity.⁴⁷ We should perhaps entertain the same possibility in regard to the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria and whatever church it succeeded as the port's episcopal church, and in regard to the Great Church and the Palaia in Antioch.

This solution does not resolve the question of why a baptistery was added to the Church of St Babylas in this early period, nor does it serve to explain what role it played at Antioch in relation to the presumed older baptistery/baptisteries at the Palaia and/or Great Church. If we consider that the Church of St Babylas had a peculiar status from the very beginning—that is, that despite the presence of relics it was functionally more than a 'martyrium' and was used on a frequent basis for synaxis⁴⁸—then a number of possibilities arise. One is that a separate suburban (or for that matter, urban) congregation became attached to it, such that by the 420s, when the baptistery was added, the church had its own complement of clergy. At this same time the number of baptisms performed at Antioch grew sufficiently large that it became helpful to perform them simultaneously at two separate locations. This scenario would be more plausible if we had evidence of other churches with their own congregations and clergy to which baptisteries were also added. Unfortunately, for this period the only comparable church is the Palaia⁴⁹ and, as we have already argued, it is likely either that baptisms were still performed there as a matter of course or that the congregants from that church were now baptized at the Great Church, the two churches being treated as one and the same administratively.

Another possibility is that the Church of St Babylas was from its beginning linked stationarily to the Palaia and the Great Church. It is of interest that John Chrysostom, who appears at one stage to have been attached as a presbyter to the Palaia, is to be found at another period preaching on a regular basis in the Great Church,⁵⁰ while also preaching semi-regularly at the Church of St Babylas. As we recall, the Church of St Babylas was built by Meletius, bishop of the larger Nicene faction at Antioch to honour another, martyred bishop of the city. By 386, when John first began preaching at Antioch, the bodies of both bishops had been interred there. Perhaps conceptually the church had been established as an episcopal mausoleum of sorts and so had been set up (in

Antioch, HE 2.6, 2.16 (Hansen, pp. 96.23-97.1, 109.9-13).

see n. 18 above.

See Mayer, 'John Chrysostom and His Audiences'.

See Mayer, 'John Chrysostom and His Audiences'.

addition to the Palaia and Great Church) as a third episcopal church.⁵¹ If so, perhaps the clergy who served the Palaia and Great Church served the Church of St Babylas also. Under these conditions one can imagine the idea of extending the rite of baptism to that church, or perhaps that the idea of extending the rite stationally between that church and the even splitting the extended rite stationally between that church and the older episcopal churches, might have become desirable by the 420s, particularly given its strong symbolic associations.⁵² These are only possibilities, and the reasons for attaching a baptistery to the church may have been quite otherwise. In either case, however, our perception of 'cathedral church' changes. Either the concept of cathedral church is pluriform (the second scenario), or the 'cathedral' church was not unique liturgically, as is generally supposed.

If at Antioch from the beginning of the fourth century the criteria that might be thought to define a 'cathedral' church blurred so rapidly, what, one wonders, was the situation that pertained more than a century later? By the late fifth century, when the inhabitants of Antioch would have had available for comparison the church in the lower city at Seleucia with its charming parade of animals worked into its mosaic floor and its many and varied champlévé-reliefs (some illustrating Old Testament stories, angels and saints, others depicting pastoral scenes, shells, animals and flowers),⁵³ they may well have looked upon the Great Church as decidedly old-fashioned. This situation can only have been compounded by the second decade of the sixth century when those who visited the Martyrium of St Dometius saw vivid images of his miracles all around them on the walls, and in one of the Churches of Michael the Archangel were perhaps greeted by an image of Michael depicted like an emperor. On the other hand, the role of the Great Church may have become only a little more diffused by the sharing with other churches of occasions that it might be thought ought exclusively to have been held within it. We observe that it is not within the Great Church but the Martyrium of St Romanus that Severus delivers a repetition of his inaugural homily, which many people were unable to hear on the first occasion because of the noise.⁵⁴ The most likely scenario is that the noise was produced by

protestors objecting to the election of the new patriarch, who took some time to consolidate his position,⁵⁵ and that Severus, who had a personal devotion to the martyr Romanus, considered his martyrium a more welcoming venue. It was the abbot of the monastery of St Romanus at Eleutheropolis, north-east of Gaza, who found Severus in the desert and nursed him back to health after his ascetic excesses as an early-career monk.⁵⁶ Noteworthy is the fact that Severus also celebrated the second anniversary of his patriarchal consecration in the Martyrium of St Romanus.⁵⁷ It is of interest, too, that he preached on the topic of the Lenten fast on Friday, 22 February 513, not in the Great Church but in the Church of Cassian.⁵⁸ That same year on 7 April, however, he preached the Easter homily in the Great Church, and in 517 delivered at least one of his homilies on the Lenten fast in that location. It is possible that what we observe here is a stationary use of the Church of Cassian by the patriarch in much the same way that in the fourth century we have supposed that the Great Church shared bishop, clergy and certain liturgical occasions with the Palaia.

The evidence is slight but sufficient to show that when attached to a single church traditional presumptions about the role, function, size or ornamentation of a cathedral church are inadequate. Even if we talk of a church as episcopal (the church at which the bishop or patriarch presided on ordinary occasions), it is clear that this situation was not exclusive and that the role was shared on occasion by other churches. It is noteworthy in this respect that all 125 surviving homilies of Severus were labelled 'cathedral' despite their delivery in a variety of locations. Bishops and patriarchs, by virtue of their role, were mobile. We know from his homilies that Severus regularly toured the *territorium* under his jurisdiction, presiding at services in villages and monasteries as well as in churches in Antioch and Seleucia Pieria.⁵⁹ The homilies of John Chrysostom occasionally allude to similar visits into the countryside by Flavian in the latter decades of the fourth century,⁶⁰ as well as demonstrating that

53. See further Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, pp. 17–18.

54. See *Hom. 35*; PO 36/3, pp. 448–49, where Severus claims a relationship with the martyr. Cf. Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 7.

55. See Part One, Romanus, St, Martyrium of, pp. 102–103.

56. See Part One, Cassian, Church of, p. 52.

57. See, e.g., Severus, *Hom. 110* (PO 25/4, p. 782), preached in the town of Aigial. See further Pauline Allen, 'A Bishop's Spirituality: The Case of Severus of Antioch', in Pauline Allen, Raymond Canning, and Lawrence Cross (eds.), with B. Janelle Caiger, *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church 1* (Brisbane, 1998), pp. 169–80 at pp. 170–71; Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, p. 23; and Alpi, *La route royale 1*, pp. 215–18.

58. See John Chrys., *De incomprehensibili natura Dei hom. 1* (SCh 28^m, pp. 92–96) and *De martyribus* (PG 50, 645–46).

51. Donceel-Voute, *Les pavements 1*, p. 21, suggests that the body of the bishop Flavian occupied the second tomb in the central chamber, which would then located a third episcopal burial there, but see our argument in Part One, pp. 40–41 and footnote p. 196, against this. Our conclusions do not exclude the possibility that the church was one of the arms of the church rather than in the central chamber.

52. The unification of the two *Bisum factum* churches (the church of Alexander (414–24) may be a significant contributing factor.

53. See figs. 102–103.

54. See Part One, Romanus, St, Martyrium of, p. 102.

Flavian presided at a number of 'martyria' on various liturgical occasions.⁶¹ We have already discussed the implications of John's own preaching in at least three churches of the city (the Great Church, Palaia and Church of St Babylas). In the end, if it is necessary to preserve such labels, we are perhaps better served by applying them more flexibly and attaching them simply to the church in which the patriarch or bishop presided on any occasion. In this usage the label is attached not to a single church but to the patriarch or bishop, and moves from church to church along with him as his duties require. The terms 'main' or 'principal' church, on the other hand, may prove more useful as a label that denotes a single church or church-complex within the city around which the activity of the approved Christian faction is focused.

STATIONAL USE OF CHURCHES AND LITURGICAL PROCESSIONS

In our discussion of the concept of 'cathedral church' we raised the possibility that at Antioch the Churches of St Babylas and Cassian were used stationally. What do we mean by this term and what evidence is there for the practice at Antioch? The clearest definition of stational worship for this period is supplied by John Baldovin in his study of the cities of Jerusalem, Rome and Constantinople.⁶² He describes it as a particular kind of worship service with four defining characteristics.⁶³ First, it always took place under the leadership of the bishop of the city or his representative. Second (the characteristic we have already observed), it was mobile; that is, it sometimes took place in the same church, at other times it was celebrated in different churches, including martyria. Third, the choice of the church or martyrion was dependent on the feast, fast or commemoration being celebrated. That is, it was prompted by extraordinary liturgical occasions (saints' feast days, anniversaries, special times of the liturgical year such as Lent and Easter). Fourth, it was the dominant liturgical celebration in the city on that day. All other services of worship were subordinate to it both in scale and style. Often associated with such liturgies, but also on occasion separate from them, are liturgical processions.⁶⁴ On those occasions the focus of the city rested not just

on a single church; rather, for the duration of the procession through the streets and public spaces of the city, the city itself became a virtual church. This phenomenon was associated with the level of participation on such occasions. When a station was held at a martyrion after a procession, the crowds that participated were often praised by the homilist for their greater than usual size and the value of the martyr was said to be reflected in the broad cross-section of the urban (at times, also rural) population that the occasion attracted.⁶⁵

The bulk of our evidence for the stational and processional use of the churches of the city and its suburbs comes from the homiletic corpora of John Chrysostom and Severus. Some slight supplementary evidence is provided by the ecclesiastical historians of the mid-fifth century concerning practice in the mid-fourth century and in the second decade of the fifth century. John Moschus and Evagrius provide us with one final example from the late sixth century.

Our earliest example is of a procession from the martyrion within the *temenos* of the Temple of Apollo in Daphne that proceeded along the road from Daphne to Antioch and most probably ended in a stational service just outside the city walls in the Koimeterion.⁶⁶ It was provoked by the emperor Julian's requirement that the Christian community remove the relics of Babylas from the martyrion. The elements on which all of our sources agree are the involvement of a broad demographic,⁶⁷ the escorting of the chest that held the remains,⁶⁸ and the singing of a psalm verse selected for its appropriateness—in this instance, for its overtly anti-'pagan', covertly anti-Julian, message.⁶⁹ Socrates and Theodoret characterize it as a festive occasion.⁷⁰ Whether they record what actually occurred or fill in the gaps from their own experience in the mid-fifth century, all of the elements they describe are found in processions at Antioch from the later fourth to mid-sixth centuries. In the

65. See Wendy Mayer, 'Female Participation and the Late Fourth-Century Preacher's Audience', *Augustinianum* 39 (1999), pp. 139–47 at pp. 139–40, and esp. John Chrys., *Hom. in martyres* (PG 50, 663 26–31), where he claims that virtually the entire city has transferred itself to the martyrion.

66. Described by Socr., *HE* 3.18.3–4 (Hansen, p. 214); Soz., *HE* 5.19.18–19 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 226); and Theod., *HE* 3.10.3 (Parmentier and Hansen, p. 187.5–9). For the argument that the remains were most probably redeposited in the Koimeterion see Part One, Koimeterion, p. 87; for further discussion of the event see Part Two, pp. 137–39.

67. Women and children included (Socr.); men and women, youths and virgins, the elderly and children (Soz.); the entire population (Theod.).

68. Theodoret has them place it on a cart.

69. *HE* 96.7.

70. Socr., *HE* 3.18.3: χαίροντες; Theod., *HE* 3.10.3: χορεύοντες.

61. See *De s. Dorotheo* (PG 50, 685 ff.), *De s. Symonis et Iudae* (PG 50, 671), and *In ascensionem* (PG 50, 441–43).

62. Baldovin, *Urban Character*.

63. Baldovin, *Urban Character*, pp. 36–37.

64. See Baldovin, *Urban Character*, passim.

example that John Moschus and Evagrius record from the time of Justinian (527–65),⁷¹ the monk Thomas, originally buried at a cemetery in Daphne, is escorted in procession to the Koimeterion along what must have been the same route.⁷² Evagrius says simply that the body was transported with public celebration and procession. John Moschus mentions the patriarch (Domnus), the participation of the entire city, and that they came to Daphne to escort the body with candles and the singing of psalms. The ceremony most probably continued at the Koimeterion with a stational liturgy. Evagrius makes it clear that Thomas was commemorated annually, most likely with a stational liturgy at the martyrion built over his tomb to honour him.

We also gain glimpses of the escorting of relics at the annual commemoration of a martyr in a manner that reflects their original translation. On the inaugural festival of Leontius (17–18 June 513), celebrated with a stational liturgy at his martyrion at Daphne on the second day, Severus refers to the procession of Leontius' relics to the martyrion on the previous day. These were escorted on a cart, upon which the excited crowd had heaped donations of jewellery, food and clothing. Children were held up to touch the relics.⁷³ On the annual commemoration of the martyr Julian in the late fourth century John Chrysostom indicates that it was a two-day event and talks of taking the relics from the martyrion out onto the street in front of the gate at the southern end of the city as if such a practice were normative.⁷⁴ On the annual commemoration of St Drosis he explicitly mentions that Bishop Flavian led everyone out of the city gates to the martyrion and that the relics of Drosis were at the head of the procession.⁷⁵

What we observe in these examples is the natural relationship between the processions that occurred on the occasion of the translation of a martyr's body or relics to their resting-place and processions in which on the day or days of their commemoration a crowd led by the bishop or his delegate annually moved through the city to the church in which a martyr's relics lay. In some of the latter cases the relics were escorted

as part of the procession in imitation of the original translation. This indicates that in some instances the receptacle that held the remains was portable. On the annual commemoration a public liturgy was held at the site, which can be defined as stational.⁷⁶ A stational liturgy was most likely observed likewise at the deposition of translated relics. In these instances there is a natural connection between the location of the station or end-point of the procession and the martyr who was being celebrated. That is, the procession wound its way to the church and a station was held in that church precisely because it was the acknowledged resting place of that martyr's relics.

A second kind of stational use of churches at Antioch can be observed that was an offshoot of this natural development. As we discussed earlier in regard to the distinction between 'martyrium' and 'church', although the bodies of the military martyrs Juveninus and Maximinus lay in the Koimeterion, by the 380s their annual commemoration was held not in the Koimeterion but across the Orontes in the Church of St Babylas. Their relics were clearly not present during the festival liturgy,⁷⁷ which means that, if a procession was associated with this stational liturgy, their relics did not play a role in it. In a similar way in the early sixth century Severus officiated at stational liturgies on the annual commemoration of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianus in a church that, as far as we know, held only Ignatius' relics.⁷⁸ Thus not all stations associated with martyrs were held at the actual church where their relics lay, nor were their relics always escorted in procession as part of the celebration. This dissociation between relics and commemoration is also observed in the later fourth century in the case of the Church of the Maccabees. As we speculated in Part Two, it is likely that the Church of the Maccabees (minus relics) was built inside the city of Antioch at the

76. John Chrys., *Hom. in martyres* (PG 50, 664), provides a hint of the contents of the liturgy observed on such occasions in the later fourth century. They included a vigil/s, scripture readings, a homily and the celebration of the eucharist. In *De beato Philogonio* (PG 48, 752) he indicates that on such occasions more than one homily might be preached, in which various aspects of the saint's life would be recounted.

77. See John Chrys., *In ss. Juveninum et Maximinum* (PG 50, 576–77), where he exhorts his audience to spend time at their coffin and indicates that it is not 'here', but within walking distance.

78. See Severus of Antioch, *Hom. 9* (PO 38/2, p. 337), *Hom. 37* (PO 36/3, p. 485), *Hom. 65* (PO 36/3, pp. 327–28), and *Hom. 84* (PO 23/1, p. 7). Other cases of celebrating a cult at a church rather than another martyr are less clear. In the case of Barlaam and the Forty Martyrs it is possible that relics of both shared the same martyrion (Severus, *Hom. 73*; PO 12/1, p. 90). At the deposition of the relics of Phocas and Procopius in the Church of Michael the Archangel it is probable that an annual stational liturgy celebrating the two martyrs was added to the liturgical cycle.

71. The event occurred during the patriarchate of Domnus, which narrows the date to 545–59.

72. Evagrius, HE 4.35 (Biden and Parmenius, pp. 100–101; *Evagrius*, p. 240–41); John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale* 88 (PG 87, 284).

73. Severus, *Hom. 27* (PO 36/4, p. 572).

74. John Chrys., *In s. Julianum* (PG 50, 678–79). The stational commemoration of the martyrion at which the stational synaxis is being celebrated is, of course, likely to be the Koimeterion. John speaks of vines and figs nearby and speaks of a picnic site for a picnic.

75. John Chrys., *De s. Drosis* (PG 30, 682).

same time that a long-standing cult of the relics observed by Christians as well as Jews continued to be observed at the Cave of Matrona in Daphne, where the relics lay (or at least were traditionally thought to lie). Distinction was drawn between the annual Christian commemoration and the Jewish cult through not only location, but also the establishment of the Christian celebration on a different date. In *De ss. martyribus* John Chrysostom indicates that a stational liturgy was held at a church inside the city on the date of their annual commemoration in his time. On that day, he says, the whole countryside poured into the city.⁷⁹ The stational liturgy associated with that occasion was thus held at a church with a symbolic rather than physical link. The homily is of interest regarding the practice of stational liturgy at Antioch in another respect. John goes on to argue that what the countryside did on the festival of the Maccabees the whole city ought to be doing on the present occasion, when the bishop is off celebrating a stational liturgy in the countryside at a martyr's shrine. This indicates a further dissociation between the *territorium* that was under the bishop of Antioch's jurisdiction and the radius within which a martyrrium was felt by the inhabitants of Antioch to be a natural part of their public and private piety. On this occasion, although there is a natural connection between the shrine, the relics of the martyr and the station being observed there, for the inhabitants of Antioch the church fell outside their conceptual geographic limits. The martyrrium is part of the Antiochene stational system, but not included in the cycle in which the Antiochene Christian community regularly participated.

The stational use of churches at Antioch thus divides into at least three different categories: churches close to Antioch in which a martyr's relics lay, at which a well-attended station was held on the annual commemoration of that martyr; churches or shrines more distant from Antioch in which a martyr's relics lay, at which a station poorly attended by the Antiochene Christian community was held by the city's bishop; and churches at which a generally well-attended station was held on the annual commemoration of a martyr, but which did not possess that martyr's relics.

There also exists a fourth way in which churches at Antioch were used stationally. By the latter decades of the fourth century two common martyrria at Antioch, the Koimeterion (associated with a cemetery) and the martyrrium at the Romanesque Gate (a site of multiple burials), became the site of stational liturgies that did not commemorate part of the festival

calendar that developed out of the annual commemorations of the saints. Rather, the stational liturgies (Good Friday and Ascension) were part of the mobile liturgical cycle associated with the historical life of Jesus. In the case of the Good Friday celebration at the Koimeterion both John Chrysostom and Severus provide sufficient explanation for us to understand why this was the case. As mentioned when discussing the Koimeterion in Part One, in the opening to his homily *De coemeterio et de cruce* John reflects on why this particular site has traditionally been chosen. He explains that the present occasion is a commemoration of the crucifixion, that Christ was crucified outside the city, and the Koimeterion is also outside the city. The reason for this precise location and not another martyrrium (there being many outside the city) is the great number of bodies that reside in the cemetery in which the Koimeterion is situated. This makes it a particularly appropriate site, since on Good Friday Christ descended to the dead.⁸⁰ That this same tradition persisted into the early sixth century is alluded to by Severus in a homily delivered on Good Friday, 5 April 513. He closes his homily by explaining that the fathers decreed that everyone gather in the place called κοιμητήριον on the day of Easter itself or again after the feast of the Resurrection, too, so that everyone might demonstrate by their actions the redemptive suffering of Christ.⁸¹ While his comments indicate that the homily is part of a station held on Good Friday at the Koimeterion, the practice of assembling there at Easter or after Easter is clearly less familiar and cannot be considered a customary practice at that stage. On the other hand, he indicates that an attempt had been made to extend the symbolic association between the Koimeterion and events in the life of Christ. That the attempt was successful is perhaps indicated by the homily delivered by the Chalcedonian patriarch Gregory in the final decades of the sixth century. There he opens his homily with emphasis on the established custom of celebrating the paschal triduum at the tombs of the dead.⁸² In the case of the station held at the martyrrium at the Romanesque Gate on the festival of Ascension, the only evidence of this practice comes from the late fourth century.⁸³ In a homily delivered on the festival, John

⁷⁹ PG 49, 393.

⁸⁰ Hom. 22 (PO 37/1, p. 113).

⁸¹ Gregory of Antioch, Hom. in mulieres unguentiferas (PG 88, 1848). He argues that the tombs, while reflecting on the life-giving death of Christ, calls one to consider the dead are lying there awaiting the final trumpet and the day of judgement. When one approaches the tomb, one approaches the other tombs as if they are chambers of life. That Christ rose from the dead gives confidence in their and our own resurrection.

⁸² John Chrys., In ascensionem (PG 50, 441–42).

⁷⁹ John Chrys., *De ss. martyribus* (BC 10, 44).

Chrysostom opens by explaining that on Good Friday they celebrated the festival outside the city, and that they do so again today in celebrating the ascension of the crucified Lord. This is done not to dishonour the city, but to honour the martyrs, who might otherwise criticize the Christians of Antioch for not deeming them worthy of seeing a single festival of the Lord celebrated among their tombs. The symbolism is associated with their sacrifice of their own lives for the sake of Christ and the site appears to have been chosen, like the Koimeterion, for the accumulation of martyrs buried in the one location. There also appears to have been a political dimension. John goes on to argue that the present station in the martyrion is as much an apology to the martyrs for having neglected this martyrion in the past.⁸⁴ Where there may have been an excuse before, when Nicene and non-Nicene martyrs were buried in the church indiscriminately, it is particularly appropriate that the festival be celebrated in this church now that a clear distinction has been drawn between the heretical and orthodox martyrs. His remarks suggest that the station held in the martyrion on Ascension was newly instituted by the current Nicene bishop of Antioch, Flavian, to celebrate the recent changes made to the martyrion. This political motive is justified by a symbolic explanation drawn on analogy with the more established station held on Good Friday at the Koimeterion. The station is thus as much about celebrating the triumph of Nicene Christianity at Antioch as about celebrating the life of Christ.⁸⁵

Evidence of a fifth kind of procession and station is found in Theodoret's account of Antioch in the second decade of the fifth century. At the time that the schism between the two Nicene factions at Antioch was finally resolved, Alexander, who succeeded Porphyry as bishop of Antioch, organized a major festival at which a procession of clergy and people, chanting psalms and raising their voice in a single hymn, flowed like a river from the western gate to the Great Church, filling the entire agora in the process.⁸⁶ In this instance the Great Church appears to have been chosen because it was considered the main church of the city. This is also a rare indication of a procession starting at the gate of the city and moving inwards. In most other cases, since the churches used were around

⁸⁴ PG 50, 442 6 up-443 4.

⁸⁵ This aspect to the changes made to the *coemeterium* by Flavian would have instigated them as early as possible after succeeding Porphyry as bishop at Antioch in 381. That is, he would not have allowed the risk of heretics despoiling the martyr burials to persist for longer than necessary. If John (c. 400) is correct that these martyr burials were most likely dates from the first or second century, then *In ascen-*

⁸⁶ Theod., HE 5.35.3-4 (Parmentier and Hahnemann, 200-201 or 387).

the perimeter of the city or in Daphne, movement would have been in the other direction. In the cases where relics were translated from Daphne to the Koimeterion (Babylas and the three children, and the monk Thomas), movement towards the city would have stopped outside the city walls in the cemetery. It is unlikely that this example is as rare as the sources make it appear. We should consider that, once Theodosius II had translated the relics of Ignatius inside the city to the newly converted Tycheaem, on his annual commemoration a procession most likely moved from a fixed point (inside or outside the city) towards a station at the church dedicated to him.

This raises a question about the origins of the procession of relics. While we argued earlier that there was an obvious relationship between the processions that were held to escort relics on their translation and the procession of these same relics to their church on their annual commemoration, there may have been a second motive at Antioch that made the procession of relics desirable. As we argued in Part Two when exploring why Theodosius II was able to convert the Temple of Fortune to a church, when he chose that particular building and translated the relics of Ignatius to it from just outside the city walls where they lay in the Koimeterion, his choices may have had something to do with the apotropaic properties that became associated with relics. In *De coemeterio et cruce* John Chrysostom claims that the saints form a protective wall around the city on all sides.⁸⁷ We know that from an early period at Constantinople relics were transported around the city by water in order to sanctify the city and cast their protective power around it, a practice that continued into the tenth century.⁸⁸ It is not inconceivable that at Antioch, too, on the annual commemoration of a martyr the relics were paraded from the church through the city—or perhaps in the fourth century, if the taboo was still too strong, around the perimeter of the city—and back to the church, where the station was then held. This accounts neatly for the manner in which the relics were removed from the martyrion or church in the first instance in order that they could be escorted in procession to the martyrion. The fact that in their homilies John Chrysostom and Severus only ever refer to the fact that they are preaching during the annual station may perhaps be due to the fact that they are preaching during the stationary liturgy held at the end of the procession. If there was no procession from the martyrion or church, then we must allow

PG 49, 393 27-29. Cf. John Chrys., *In martyres Aegyptios* (PG 50, 694 4-6). See Mayer, 'The Sea Made Holy'.

for some mechanism for the relics to be brought discreetly from the church where they lay to the point of origin of the procession that would wind its way to the church for the stationary synaxis.

Finally, a discussion of the stationary use of churches at Antioch would be incomplete without returning to the Churches of St Babylas and Cassian and the possibilities that were raised when we discussed the concept and practice of 'cathedral church' in the preceding section. We floated the idea that from its beginning the Church of St Babylas was linked stationally to the Palaia and the Great Church and that perhaps conceptually the church had been established as an episcopal mausoleum of sorts and thus had been set up as a third episcopal church. This might help to account for why we find hints that John Chrysostom preached there on ordinary (non-festival) occasions in addition to the more obvious association between the church and the festivals of Babylas, Meletius and the transfer to the church of the annual commemoration of the military martyrs Juveninus and Maximinus. We also speculated that it might help to account for the addition of a baptistery to the church in the 420s, although this argument is less persuasive. More explicit is the stationary use of the Martyrium of St Romanus and the Church of Cassian in the second decade of the sixth century. We observed as a noteworthy fact that it was not within the Great Church but the Martyrium of St Romanus that Severus celebrated the second anniversary of his patriarchal consecration. We also noted with interest that he preached on the topic of the Lenten fast on Friday, 22 February 513 not in the Great Church but in the Church of Cassian, yet in that same year preached the Easter homily in the Great Church. In 517, on the other hand, he delivered at least one of his homilies on the Lenten fast in the Great Church, indicating that preaching on the Lenten fast in that location was normative for at least part of the season. Since there is no obvious reason why the Church of Cassian might have been used during the Lenten fast, the best explanation for its occasional use is that it was being used stationally by the patriarch in much the same way that in the fourth century we have supposed the Great Church shared bishop, clergy and certain liturgical occasions with the Palaia. The motive behind the use of the Church of St Romanus was in our likely his personal association with the martyr, as much as that at this early stage in his controversial episcopal career it was a more convenient venue for the delivery of his anti-Chalcedonian sentiments.

In the end, it is clear that at Antioch, for its own various reasons, there developed over the course of the fourth to sixth centuries a relatively elaborate stationary system. Many stations were fixed in the

liturgical calendar, others, like the anniversary of Severus' ordination, were perhaps of short duration. Some will have been added as new relics, like those of Procopius and Phocas, were acquired and/or new churches, such as that of Cosmas and Damian, were added. Others will have died out as the use of churches altered or declined in popularity as newer festivals were added to the calendar.⁸⁹ The same will have been the case with processional liturgies. As Baldovin concludes, in both the stationary use of churches in and around the city and in the processions conducted through the streets of Antioch and its suburbs, we see at work the dialectic between the development of the liturgical calendar and the urban space in which that calendar became a living reality.⁹⁰

MOBILE BODIES AND PRIVATE VENERATION

One of the factors that contributed to the changes in stationary use of churches that occurred at Antioch is the not infrequent translation of relics or bodies. We have already noted that Babylas was originally interred in the Koimeterion.⁹¹ There his body lay for the better part of a century, until the caesar Gallus (351-54) translated it to the newly built martyrium at the Temple of Apollo in Daphne. Since it was his particular body that Gallus selected for the martyrium, for what appear to have been symbolic reasons, we can presume that a cult had developed around the burial in the Koimeterion and that the latter had been used for at least private observance for quite some decades. The translation of the relics to the martyrium in Daphne can only have enhanced the status of the martyr-bishop within the local community and may have accelerated the development of the cultic practices associated with his relics. We know that between the time that they were deposited in the martyrium and the time that they were translated yet again, other bodies (in addition to those of his three child companions) were buried next to the martyr's relics in the same martyrium.⁹² Perhaps new rites were instituted at this time under the homoian bishop Leontius (344-58). We have

⁸⁹ Evagrius, *HE* 1.16 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 26; trans. Whitby, pp. 42-44), indicates that the Chalcedonian patriarch Gregory (570-93) gave greater prominence to the annual commemoration of Ignatius, which may indicate that in the century and a half between Theodosius II's translation of the body to the converted Tycheum and the patriarchate of Gregory the festival had declined in popularity.

⁹⁰ Baldovin, *Urban Character*, p. 230.

⁹¹ Babylas was killed at Antioch c. 250 under the emperor Decius (249-51).
⁹² For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon, drawing on diverse archaeological evidence, see Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, pp. 69-100.

some slight evidence that at least some martyria at Antioch were being used at this time for more than private prayer or veneration. Theodoret, explaining that when they were still lay people Flavian and Diodore (later bishops of Antioch and of Tarsus, respectively) were the first to develop the antiphonal chanting of psalms, adds that they gathered the most zealous Christians around them at the tombs of the martyrs and there held night-long vigils during which they all sang hymns to God. When he learnt of this, Leontius, seeing the size and quality of the crowd involved, decided it would be difficult to halt the practice without retaliation. In consequence he requested that they bring the practice into the churches instead.⁹³ While this does not indicate how martyria were being used liturgically by the approved Christian faction, it does tell us that they were considered a valid alternative to the main churches of the city by a non-approved faction, in this case Nicene Christians. It also suggests that laity-led vigils that included the singing of psalms could not perhaps strictly be defined as a public act of worship and therefore of defiance or opposition to the homoian community, but were rather to be defined technically, if not in spirit, as an act of private piety.⁹⁴

That martyria were functionally an active part of the Christian community on a day-to-day basis is perhaps also suggested by Theodoret's remark that when the news of the death of the emperor Julian (361-63) was broadcast at Antioch there was celebration not just in the churches and martyrs' tombs but also the theatres. Since the churches were at the time in the possession of the homoian community and we have a hint that some years earlier martyria were used by the Nicene community, it may be that Theodoret wishes simply to show that the local Christian factions were united in their rejoicing at the death of the neo-pagan emperor. It may also be that by this time (the early 360s) the martyria were such an integral part of the network of buildings at Antioch in which public liturgy was celebrated that public celebration in all of the major churches of the city automatically included the martyria.

To return to the habit of moving bodies and relics around at Antioch, the relics of Babylas and his three companions remained in the martyrium in Daphne for barely a decade before they were removed and translated back to the Koimeterion (c. 362). Since they were translated on this occasion with considerable ceremony (escorted by a large procession

⁹³ Theod., *HE* 2.24.8-11 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 322-23).

⁹⁴ For the thesis that up to the beginning of the fifth century Christians were more assiduous in attending martyr shrines than the regular urban churches see Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Paganism in the City A.D. 200-400* (Atlanta, 2009).

chanting the verse of a psalm),⁹⁵ it would not be surprising if at this point at least an annual procession of the relics was instituted and a stationary liturgy celebrated at the Koimeterion annually. At the very least this would have kept the triumphalist character of Babylas' return to that martyrium fresh in the minds of the local Christian community. The remains resided in the Koimeterion for a period of up to twenty years before they were once again translated from the Koimeterion, this time across the Orontes to the completed Church of St Babylas. Depending on when a stationary liturgy at their tomb was instituted, the three translations of the relics over a period of forty years would have necessitated corresponding changes in liturgical practice at Antioch. As they were moved from church to church, differences in the kind of chest or coffin in which they were located and where they were positioned in each church would also have brought changes in the practices observed during private veneration. These changes were not complete with the deposition of Babylas' relics in the church that was dedicated to him. Some time between 381 and 386 the body of Meletius was translated from Constantinople to Antioch, where it was deposited near the relics of Babylas and his three companions. This act, which may have occurred not long after Babylas' own remains were translated there, appears to have established an instant cult,⁹⁶ in response to which a station was held at that church annually.

Those of Babylas and the three children were not the only relics that were moved one or more times at Antioch. As we noted in the preceding section, the changes that Flavian sponsored at the martyrium at the Romanesque Gate may not have resulted in a geographic relocation of a number of bodies, but did result in their relocation vertically, with a corresponding change in liturgical practice.⁹⁷ By sinking the non-approved

⁹⁵ One wonders if this procession was less novel than has been supposed and whether this was not in fact the second occasion on which the relics had been translated in this manner, the first occasion being their translation from the Koimeterion to the martyrium in Daphne.

⁹⁶ John Chrys., *De s. Meletio* (PG 50, 515-16), explains that the mania for Meletius was so great that people had his image carved on rings, seals, cups and painted on their bedroom walls. Since he also says that people at Antioch started naming their children after Meletius when he was still alive, it may be that he had achieved cult status even before his remains were translated to Antioch from Constantinople.

⁹⁷ For a more detailed discussion of this event and its possible relationship to the subterranean tombs found in the Church of St Babylas, see Wendy Mayer, 'The Late Antique Church at Antioch Reconsidered: Memory and Martyr-burial in Syrian Antioch', in Johan Leemans (ed.), *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity: Festschrift in Honour of Bertjan Dehandschutter* (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 283, Leuven, 2011), pp. 161-77.

martyrs lower into the floor and obliterating their existence in a form of *damnatio memoriae* he permanently altered the way in which people privately used the church, as well, we have argued, as introducing a station at the church on the festival of the Ascension. His intention in this regard was explicit. He wished to ensure that those who prayed privately at the tombs of the martyrs set into the floor of the church would do so in future only at the tombs he had selected. The relics of Ignatius, on the other hand, did not reside at Antioch initially, but were translated there from Rome at some point before 392. By the latter decades of the fourth century John Chrysostom, in a homily preached on the annual commemoration of the martyr, confirms that a stationary liturgy had been instituted at the Koimeterion where Ignatius' remains now resided. He also mentions that he and the crowd had walked to it on the day, which may suggest that the station was associated with a procession.⁹⁸ Like those of Babylas, the relics of Ignatius underwent a second translation some twenty or thirty years later (from the Koimeterion to the Church of St Ignatius inside the city), with a resultant change in both public liturgical practice and private veneration.

Other translations also impacted on the public and private use of the city's churches, as often as not prompting the construction of a new martyrion. So at some point in the fifth century the relics of Julian were moved from their old resting-place to a new church at another location within Antioch's suburbs. The existence in the first decades of the sixth century of a dedicated Martyrium of St Romanus and of a Martyrium of St Barlaam suggests that in the fifth century those martyrs' relics underwent similar translations. In 459 the translation to Antioch from his monastery of the body of Symeon Stylites the Elder radically altered the use of the Great Church, which was again affected when the body was removed and translated to its own purpose-built martyrion some forty to sixty years later. When Severus instituted the festival of the martyr Leontius at Daphne in 513, relics of Leontius must have been sourced and translated to the new martyrion from elsewhere. We know from Severus that the two-day celebration involved a stationary liturgy that was preceded by a procession of the relics to the martyrion. In c. 550 the body of the monk Thomas was translated from the cemetery at Daphne to the Koimeterion where a small martyrion was built for it and an annual commemoration (probably stationary) was added to the Antiochene liturgical calendar. The recovery from *Görlacher* and translation to the Church of St Julian in 529 of the relics of *Elisabeth*, the introduction to

98. John Chrys., *In Ignatium* (CCLXIV).

the Church of the Archangel Michael in Antioch of the relics of Procopius and Phocas, and the introduction by Justinian of the cult of Cosmas and Damian (presumably with attendant relics) to a purpose-built church in the city will similarly have altered existing practices at the churches in question and introduced new opportunities for varied expressions of personal piety.

The frequent movement at Antioch of entire bodies or relics, whether via translation or annually in a procession, raises the question of what a person who came to venerate them saw and where and how they were located in a church. At Antioch we have evidence of two options: intra-floor burial of entire bodies; and stone reliquaries that could only have held disconnected bones or ash. At least two of the excavated churches at Antioch, the Church of St Babylas and the church in the northern suburbs at Machouka, contained intra-floor burials.⁹⁹ At the church in Machouka three tombs of brick construction were set into different parts of the floor of the narthex some time after its construction.¹⁰⁰ In the case of the tomb that nestled against the southern corner of the narthex, that section of the narthex was subsequently walled off, creating what the author of the field notes describes as a mortuary chapel (figs. 59, 62). An entry to it was created in the north end of the eastern aisle of the basilica, so that the room that contained the tomb could be entered only from inside the church. There is no evidence that the other tombs, which were set near the north end of the narthex, were ever walled in. In that case, they would have been visible upon entry to the narthex. All three tombs were paved over with flagstones that interrupted the pattern of the mosaic pavement. The date at which the church was built and at which these alterations subsequently took place is uncertain.

By the end of its life the Church of St Babylas contained around twenty burials (fig. 23), although it should be noted that one of these lay not inside the church but immediately outside the north wall of the west arm (fig. 25) and the five or six which extended along the eastern end of the east arm (fig. 27) were most likely added after the church ceased to be used.¹⁰¹ The

99. Regarding the practice of intra-floor burial and for examples of churches with multiple sub-floor burials see Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, pp. 69–97.

100. The location is quite different from that which is observed in the case of reliquary shrines. In northern Syria these are often found located in an annex to the right or left of the church. See Pasquale Castellana, 'Una chiesa bizantina a 'Alia, nella regione dell'Oronte', *Studia Orientalia Christiana Collectanea* 15 (1972–73), pp. 77–95; Maria-Teresa Canivet, 'Les reliquaires à huile de la grande église de Haurie (Syrie)', *Syria* 55 (1978), pp. 153–62; Brands, *Reliquary*, pp. 12–13 (Resafa, Basilica A); and Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 32.

101. See our argument concerning the east arm in the section on Liturgical Organization, pp. 30–41.

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¹⁰⁰ See our argument concerning the east arm in the section on Liturgical Organisation, pp. 201-11.

⁹⁹ John Chrys., *In s. Ignatium* (PG 50, 595).

majority of these tombs are of brick construction (on occasion, lined with cement), paved over with marble flagstones. Some were set below the level of the floor subsequent to its paving in 387 CE, as evidenced by repair of the pattern in the mosaic flooring. In at least one case, the lid would have been set flush with the mosaic pavement. One tomb, set in the north-west corner of the central chamber was distinctive in several ways. Carved from a single block of stone, it contained a notched ledge roughly half way down (fig. 21), which would have allowed for the placement of a wooden board or slats, so that the tomb could be segregated and a second body placed on top of the first without disturbance. It is this tomb that has until now been thought to have held the body of St Babylas and, after his death, also that of Meletius.¹⁰² As we suggest in Part One,¹⁰³ the most likely scenario is that the sarcophagus was purpose-built to house the bodies not of Babylas and Meletius, but of Babylas and the three children (boys) who were martyred with him. This is not inconsistent with the archaeo-logical evidence, in that the bodies of three young children laid together would have taken up little more space than an adult male skeleton. Given the way in which the three children are always referred to without distinction,¹⁰⁴ in any case there may have been no thought that the three small bodies required separate receptacles. The sarcophagus dates from the time of the church's construction, as confirmed by the manner in which it was set into its foundation.¹⁰⁵ On entering the church in 387, then, people would probably have seen only the tomb in the central chamber. As the church aged and various burials were added, the person entering would perhaps have been aware of tombs set into the floor in the west, south and north arms, while the sarcophagus set into the floor in the north-west corner of the central chamber would still have been the most visible and distinctive.

Among the items of Antiochene provenance that were purchased from the local inhabitants at the time of the 1930s excavations was a small marble reliquary lid dated to the fifth or sixth century (fig. 139). Measuring 35.6 x 26.7 x 9.2 cm (h), it would have sealed a small marble box that held the bones or ashes of a martyr.¹⁰⁶ The gabled lid with

¹⁰² Most recently, MacMullen, *Second Church*, p. 26, adopts this conclusion.

¹⁰³ See Babylas, St. Church of, Literary evidence, pp. 44 and 45.

¹⁰⁴ See Theodoret, HE 3.10 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 188–89), *The Syrian martyrology* (William Wright [ed.], 'An Ancient Syrian Martyrology', *Harvard Theological Review* NS 8 [1866], pp. 45–55, 423–33 at p. 424), and Philostorgius, *Life of Constantine* and Winkelmann, pp. 86–94.

¹⁰⁵ Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ Gary Vikan, *Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection from the Ptolemaic Period to the Renaissance* (Washington, DC, 1993), pp. 10–11, describes the lid as

corner acroteria is relatively plain, ornamented only with two equal-armed crosses. In shape it imitates the cover of a late antique, east Mediterranean sarcophagus. A funnel-shaped hole that expands inwards from a 1 to 9 cm diameter is set in the top of the lid, nestled between the arms of one of the two crosses. A comparable reliquary found *in situ* in an annex to a fifth-century church in Hürte in Syria is somewhat larger,¹⁰⁷ but defines the general type.¹⁰⁸ It was found sitting on a free-standing marble base of slightly larger dimensions than the chest. A hole in the side of the chest collected in a cup-shaped projection the oil that was poured over the relics through the hole in the lid. An equal-armed cross on the facing gable of the lid is repeated on the main face of the chest and of the marble base (fig. 140). The facility for catching oil poured over the bones is indicative of a practice described in both the sermons of John Chrysostom and of Severus of Antioch. In the late fourth century John encourages his audience to come to a particular martyrion, embrace the chest, take holy oil and anoint their tongue, lips, neck and eyes.¹⁰⁹ In the second decade of the sixth century Severus claims that everyone who passes the Martyrium of St Leontius in Daphne goes in, prays, recalls the sufferings of the martyr and anoints themselves with the oil from the revered casket.¹¹⁰ Since Leontius' relics were escorted to his martyrion as part of his inaugural commemoration, it is probable that the reliquary that was placed on a carriage for the duration of the procession was of this same type. Similarly, at the Martyrium of St Dometius, those who come there, whether seeking healing or not, touch the casket that contains the relics and anoint themselves with oil.¹¹¹

Despite the dating of stone reliquaries of this type to the fifth to sixth centuries, on the basis of John Chrysostom's encouragement to his audience to anoint themselves with oil sanctified by a martyr we should expect that this kind of reliquary was in use at Antioch as early as the

bearing a raised lip on its underside set 2 cm in from the outer edge, allowing for an internal cavity 31 x 22 cm in dimension. He assumes a depth of approx. 20 cm. He also notes that the libation hole is most probably a later addition.

¹⁰⁷ The body of the chest measures 95 x 48 cm x 60 cm (h). See Canivet, 'Le reliquaire'.

¹⁰⁸ See Vikan, *Catalogue*, p. 74, who notes that the north Syrian examples typically have a lower pitched gable and are simpler and rougher in workmanship, to which the Antiochene example conforms. For comparable examples see Castellana, 'Una chiesa bizantina', pl. XIII.

¹⁰⁹ John Chrys., *Hom. in martyres* (PG 50, 664).

¹¹⁰ Severus, *Hom. 27* (PO 36/4, pp. 570–32–37).

¹¹¹ Severus, *Hom. 51* (PO 35/3, p. 370). On the use of holy oil at martyrs' shrines see

Hugonide Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs* (Subsidia Hagiographica 20; Brussels, 1924), pp. 116–17.

last decades of the fourth century, if not earlier.¹¹² A ninth-century Syriac text, which refers to the theft from a local church of relics stored in a white marble chest decorated with a cross (and two cherubs) indicates that the practice persisted at Antioch beyond the sixth century.¹¹³ Similarly, on the basis of the stone sarcophagus in the central chamber of the Church of St Babylas the practice of intra-floor burial at Antioch can be dated from at least the first half of the 380s to the early seventh century.¹¹⁴ This is likely to have been the practice observed in the case of Symeon Stylites the Elder and the monk Thomas, both of whom were deposited in churches at Antioch within a short time of their death (459 and c. 550, respectively)—that is, it is not a single bone, bone fragment or ash that was deposited, but a full body. Evagrius confirms that in the late sixth century Symeon's body was still largely intact, including teeth and hair.¹¹⁵ Thus when a person entered a martyrion at Antioch, depending in part on the history of the martyr, they encountered either a marble reliquary set on top of a base or saw the martyr's tomb set into the floor, perhaps with the name of the martyr carved into the flagstones that sealed it or spelled out in mosaic tile. In some cases, they would have seen multiple reliquaries or intra-floor burials.¹¹⁶ It is likely that it was only in a case where the bones reposed in a marble reliquary chest, however, that the people who came to venerate the martyr had available oil blessed by the relics with which to anoint themselves. Similarly, it was the latter relics that could be lifted onto a cart and escorted to the martyrion on the days of their annual commemoration. Since we know that bodies that were located in tombs set within the floor could on occasion be removed and escorted in procession for the purposes of translation,¹¹⁷ the possibility remains that in the case of intra-floor burials, too, some mechanism existed for repeating this process on an annual basis.

112. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, pp. 164–70, while documenting and discussing the use of such reliquaries in churches of the limestone massif, supplies an example from Bāḥiqa, dated 390–407/8 (p. 167, fig. 4.9).

113. Thomas, bishop of Marga, *Historia monastica* 2.5 (Budge 1, pp. 70–71; trans. Budge 2, p. 127).

114. This calculation assumes that the tombs in the east arm of the church were added after the church became derelict. Our last witness to the church dates to c. 590. The sarcophagus assumes the burial of a full body or skeleton, which may suggest that the practice of intra-floor burial should be dated back to the early days of the *Kommunion* (before Babylas' original tomb and would push the date of the practice back into the first half of the fourth century, if not earlier).

115. Evagrius, *HE* 1.13 (Bidez and Festarié, p. 23; trans. McGuckin, p. 27).

116. See John Chrys., *De ss. Bernice et Prosdoce* (PG 50, 683–85), where he describes the martyrion that contains not only multiple relics, but depositories of several different types.

117. E.g., Babylas and Symeon Stylites the Elder.

We have already seen that from at least the late fourth to early sixth century members of the Christian communities at Antioch would visit martyrion for private reasons on non-festival occasions. There they would pray at the martyr's tomb or reliquary, asking the martyr to intercede for them or to keep a loved one safe.¹¹⁸ They would touch the tomb or reliquary and, when available, they would also anoint themselves with holy oil.¹¹⁹ When the martyr was associated with healing, as in the case of John the Baptist and Dometius for whom we have evidence concerning the second and third decade of the sixth century, supplicants would sleep at the church.¹²⁰ They might also wander around inside and view the decorative cycle on the church's walls in which miracles performed by the saint were depicted.¹²¹ In the case of the Martyrium of St Dometius, they would make a votive offering of sheets of gold or silver foil on which the body part that required healing was depicted.¹²² The same practice was probably observed at the Church of Saints Cosmas and Damian, after the cult was introduced to Antioch under Justinian (527–65), and at the Martyrium of the Maccabees in Daphne after it was converted from a Jewish healing shrine. In this latter instance, it is likely that the change in possession made little difference to the private practices that were observed there.

118. John Chrys., *In martyres omnes* (unedited, trans. Mayer, *Cult of the Saints*, pp. 247–48), delivered at Constantinople, refers to wives praying at a martyrion for their husband's safe return (also the emperor praying for victory and afterwards giving thanks at the same martyrion). In *Vita Sym. iun.* 2 (Van den Ven 1, p. 4) Symeon the Younger's mother prays for fertility. Similarly at a chapel of the Maccabees Marutha's grandmother prays to be given a grandson (*Life of Marutha of Maipherkat Arm.*; Ralph Marcus [ed. and trans.], *The Armenian Life of Marutha of Maipherkat*, *HTHR* 25 [1932], p. 57).

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120. *Vita Sym. iun.* 2 (Van den Ven 1, p. 4), where weeping and practising a restricted dietary regimen are also mentioned.

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¹²² Severus, *Hom.* 51 (PO 35/3, p. 376). For an example of a silver votive plaque (with a pair of eyes, above which is inscribed in Greek 'Lord, help, Amen') from a church treasure near Maaret en-Noman in Syria, see Marlia Mundell Mango, 'The Uses of Liturgical Silver', p. 254, fig. 38. The plaque has a hole by which it could be nailed or suspended. In another votive plaque found at the same location a twisted length of silver remains knotted through one of the attachment holes. See Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, p. 243, fig. 38.

POSSESSION, DISPOSSESSION, AND REPOSSESSION

In discussing the concept of 'cathedral church' the point was made that at Antioch from the mid-fourth century onwards the Christian community was more often than not divided into two or more factions. The question of which faction was using which churches at Antioch when, is an important one as it has a number of implications. The situation is better documented for the fourth century, but it should also be kept in mind that during the growing divide into Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian factions that took place at Antioch in the latter decades of the fifth century the revolving possession and dispossession of certain of the city's churches under successive emperors will have been revived. When the schism became permanent in the sixth century, so too did the dividing up of the city's churches between the factions become a permanent state of affairs. By the seventh century it is likely that the situation had settled more or less into a state of *détente*, where the possession of particular churches by each faction had become relatively fixed, particularly after the fourth decade, when Islam entered into the mix. When we examine the use of Antioch's churches it is important that we keep this state of affairs at the forefront of our mind.

Our first evidence for the sectarian use of churches at Antioch comes from the episcopate of Leontius (344-58). Leontius espoused homoian Christianity, a faction that was at the time supported by the emperor Constantius II (337-61). We have already discussed Theodoret's account of the use of martyria by Flavian and Diodore, who were themselves later major exponents of Nicene Christianity and leaders of one faction of that community at Antioch during the reign of Valens (364-78).¹²³ That their use of such buildings for the holding of night-long vigils and the antiphonal chanting of psalms had a political side to it is indicated by Leontius' response, which is an immediate desire to shut it down.¹²⁴ His move to shift the activity into the churches of the city suggests that it was designed to bring a potentially adverse situation under his control. This implies two things: that at this point the 'churches' of the city (presumably the Palaia, the Great Church and any other smaller church within the city itself) were under homoian administration; but that the martyria in some way stood outside the matrix of Leontius' power. This may be

¹²³ For their leadership during the various exiles of Athanasius see Theodoret, *HE* 4.25, 27 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 263-64, 267) and Hist. relig. 8.4-6 (Parmentier and Leroy-Molingé, pp. 364-66, trans. Price, pp. 75-76).

¹²⁴ Theod., *HE* 3.24.8-11 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 180-81).

because of the different uses of the buildings, which were still relatively discrete at this time. In other words, Leontius and his clergy administered the churches used for regular worship and closely supervised the pastoral activities associated with them. The martyria, on the other hand, may have had few staff attached, were used by Leontius and his clergy for stationary liturgies only on occasion, and have been perceived as independent in the popular imagination.¹²⁵ It may be, however, that it was only the Koimeterion and other martyria that had developed within a cemetery (that is, the martyrium at the Romanes Gate) that were considered in this light. As discussed in Part Two, the martyrium at the Temple of Apollo in Daphne was closely associated with the caesar Gallus (351-54) and had been set up (if not constructed) to house the remains of Babylas, who at this juncture becomes associated with the homoian cause.¹²⁶

In 360, when Meletius, who was elected in that year to the episcopate of the homoian community, began to display neo-Nicene sympathies, he was deposed and sent into exile and a new bishop, Euzoius (360-76), was elected as his replacement. In protest a second Nicene group began to assemble in the Palaia.¹²⁷ During the reign of Julian (361-63) we know that the homoian community held control of the Great Church,¹²⁸ which suggests that throughout this period they continued to control the majority of the churches used for regular worship in the city. Theodoret later says that Jovian (363-64), who briefly succeeded Julian, gave to this second Nicene group the 'newly built church' (τὴν νεώδημτον ἐκκλησίαν),¹²⁹ which indicates at this point a loss to the homoian community of at least some of the churches. It also raises the question of where up to this stage the initial Nicene group (now under the leadership of Paulinus, 362-81) had been meeting and conducting their worship. Theodoret claims that after Eustathius (bishop of Antioch, c. 325-30) was exiled and a succession of homoian bishops were elected, a portion of the Christian community abandoned the official ecclesiastical assemblies and worshipped apart by themselves.¹³⁰ This indicates that by 364 for more than thirty

¹²⁵ The same conclusion regarding the perception and function of martyria during the third to fourth centuries is reached by Ramsay MacMullen, *Second Church*.

¹²⁶ See Part Two, pp. 136-39.

¹²⁷ Theod., *HE* 2.31.11 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 172-73). Socrates, *HE* 2.44.6 (Hansen, p. 182) says simply that they left the Arian (homoian) assemblies and worshipped by themselves. Theod., *HE* 3.4.3 (Parmentier and Hansen, p. 180), indicates that this was the situation found by Meletius on his return from exile under Julian.

¹²⁸ Theod., *HE* 3.12.1 (Parmentier and Hansen, p. 188).

¹²⁹ Theod., *HE* 4.24.4 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 262-63).

¹³⁰ Theod., *HE* 1.22.2 and 3.4.3 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 72, 180).

years the Nicene 1 group had been using a building or buildings at Antioch separate from those controlled by the homoian bishops and their followers. Neither of these churches was the Great Church or the Palaia. Sozomen claims that in Leontius' time they met in a number of private houses.¹³¹

Any control of regularly used churches that the Nicene 2 Christians gained under Jovian was short-lived. When the emperor Valens (364-78), who supported homoianism, came to the throne in the East he resided for a considerable part of his reign in the palace at Antioch. It is most likely at this point, when Valens succeeded Jovian and just before he sent Meletius back into exile (that is, late 364), that the Nicene 2 Christians were expelled along with Meletius from the churches of the city. This is the best way to reconcile Socrates' claim that after Meletius returned from exile the homoians had possession of the churches of Antioch, while the Nicene 1 Christians under the leadership of Paulinus retained a small church (unspecified) within the city. Meletius and his followers, he asserts, assembled outside the gates of the city.¹³² In fact, we know from Theodoret that from this time onwards the Nicene 2 Christians successively utilized at least three separate locations beyond the walls of the city for their activities. Theodoret mentions in his *HE* that the military parade-ground (*campus martius*) across the Orontes was their second choice, but in the *Historia Religiosa* he claims that it was in fact their third.¹³³ The Nicene 2 faction had initially held their assemblies at the foot of the mountain and then on the bank of the Orontes (which mountain and which bank are not specified), but was forced to move further away. It is likely that throughout Valens' reign their activities continued to be interrupted and the community forced to move on periodically. This took place mostly during the absence of Meletius, who spent much of the remainder of Valens' reign in Armenia in exile.

With the succession to the throne in the East of Theodosius I (378-95), who supported Nicene Christianity, the situation for the two Nicene communities at Antioch on the whole took a turn for the better, while the situation for the homoian community was reversed. Initially, however, with repossession of the churches of the city at stake relations between the two Nicene communities were not particularly cordial.

131. Soz., *HE* 3.20.4 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 184).

132. Socr., *HE* 3.9.3-4 (Hansen, p. 204).

133. Theod., *HE* 4.25-26 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 30-31, 74-75, 87-88 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghien, pp. 226-28, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

When he returned once again to Antioch from exile, the Nicene 1 community refused to recognize the legitimacy of Meletius' consecration, since it had been performed by a homoian bishop. In defiance his supporters sat him on the episcopal throne in one of the churches situated in front of the city (that is, one of the suburban churches).¹³⁴ This manoeuvre not only confirms the existence at this time of episcopal *cathedrae* in churches at Antioch other than the Great Church and Palaia, but also indicates the authority that attached to churches that possessed them. It may also support the thesis of a developing stational use of churches in and around the city. This pre-emptive move was apparently successful. The Nicene 2 community eventually gained control of the majority of the churches, the Nicene 1 community appears to have continued to worship as they had done under homoian control (in some small church or churches), while from then on it was the homoian community who were obliged to hold their assemblies in the suburbs.¹³⁵ That by this time the martyria of the city could be more readily controlled is perhaps suggested by the actions of Meletius' successor to the leadership of the Nicene 2 faction, Flavian (381-404). His restructuring of the burials in the martyrium at the Romanesque Gate so that martyrs who were to him identifiably homoian would no longer be visible and it was the Nicene martyrs alone who would strike the visitor's eye, suggests a degree of control by the officially approved faction over the martyrium that most likely did not exist when the homoians were in control of the city's churches in the 350s.¹³⁶ The schism between the two Nicene factions at Antioch persisted until the second decade of the fifth century, which indicates that this distribution of the city's churches continued for some thirty years. At this stage we lose sight of the homoian community in the sources. During the episcopate of Alexander (414-24) the two Nicene factions were finally fully reconciled in a ceremony in which the Great Church features prominently.¹³⁷ At least officially, subsequently the majority of the Nicene Christians shared the churches of the city, worshipping together. We cannot be certain what occurred in practice.

134. Soz., *HE* 7.3.1-4 (Bidez and Hansen, p. 304).

135. Theod., *HE* 5.3.16 (Parmentier and Hansen, p. 282); Socr., *HE* 5.15.7-8 (Hansen, p. 282), dates the expulsion of the homoians to the time of the episcopates of Flavian (381-404) and Theodosius (388-92/93). It is more likely that this took place in 380 or 381, after Theodosius declared Nicene Christianity the empire's official religion.

136. My thesis that the station at this martyrium on the festival of Ascension is newly instituted by Flavian is correct, then the sermon in which John Chrysostom mentions the restructuring dates the event to after Feb. 386, when John first began preaching at Antioch.

137. Theod., *HE* 5.35.3-4 (Parmentier and Hansen, pp. 337-38).

With this one exception, our sources concerning possession of the churches of Antioch are poor for the period of the reign of Theodosius II (408–50). We gain glimpses of a deterioration in the situation in the decades following the Council of Chalcedon (451). In gaining a picture of this we are reliant in large part on following the rapid turnover of bishops at Antioch from the 460s onwards, the frequency of depositions, the constant alternation between bishops of Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian persuasion, and matching the fates of Antioch's bishops and patriarchs to the sympathies of the reigning emperor.¹³⁸ Our first direct evidence that factionalism again began to impact on the use of the city's churches occurs during the reign of Zeno (474–91). The bishop Stephen (481), who accepted a Chalcedonian christology, was murdered by his clergy during a station at the Church of St Barlaam on the festival of the Forty Martyrs.¹³⁹ Stephen had been elected bishop of Antioch after Peter the Fuller, an anti-Chalcedonian, was deposed. Since the clergy who remained faithful to an anti-Chalcedonian position were part of Stephen's own administration, however, it is unlikely that the Christians of Antioch had as yet split into two separately worshipping communities.¹⁴⁰ By the time of Severus (512–18), on the contrary, this does appear to have become the case. The title to one of Severus' homilies refers to a church called *katà kainḗn* ('in the new [city]'),¹⁴¹ where the Nestorians (Chalcedonians) furtively gather.¹⁴² This suggests that by this stage, with a like-minded patriarch at their head, the majority anti-Chalcedonians had firm possession of the bulk of the city's churches. It was the minority Chalcedonians who had to take care when utilizing at least one of those churches for their own assemblies. It was not until the reign of Justinian (527–65), however, that the situation resolved itself into two separately functioning communities, each with their own clergy.¹⁴³

138. See Appendix, Tables 1–2.

139. Malalas, *Chron.* 15.6 (Thurn, p. 304; Jeffreys *et al.*, p. 211); John of Nikiu, *Chron.* 88.44 (Zotenberg, pp. 124–36; trans. Charles, pp. 113–14); Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5973, AD 480/1 (De Boor, p. 128; Mango and Scott, p. 197).

140. Pauline Allen, 'The Definition and Enforcement of Orthodoxy', *Ch.* 37 in Averil Cameron, Bryan Ward-Perkins and Michael Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* 14. *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 887, argues that at this point the people of Antioch were anti-Chalcedonian, regardless of the christological stance of their bishops.

141. The Greek phrase is preserved as a marginal gloss in some Greek manuscripts.

142. Severus, *Hom.* 64 (PO 8/2, p. 313).

143. See now Volker L. Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Orthodox Church* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford, 2008), for the build-up to the schism in Syria.

The implications of this development for the possession of the churches at Antioch is difficult to determine. The *locus* of anti-Chalcedonian administration moved east to the monastery of Goubba-Barrāyā near Cyrrhus,¹⁴⁴ and as a result the anti-Chalcedonian patriarchs resided in monasteries, often at some distance from cities themselves, and the anti-Chalcedonians became increasingly influential in the border area between the Roman and Persian empires.¹⁴⁵ However, this trend does not preclude the persistence of some worshipping anti-Chalcedonian communities in Antioch itself.¹⁴⁶ If the date of the newly laid mosaic pavement in the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria (May 625) is correct, locating it towards the end of the Persian occupation of Syria, we may have evidence of a church at Antioch's port city that was in the possession of anti-Chalcedonians.¹⁴⁷ The patriarchate of Paul the Black, who originated from the monastery of Goubba-Barrāyā and was ordained there in c. 564 as anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, probably heralded the end of the anti-Chalcedonian hierarchy in Antioch. During his controversial tenure until 581 Paul spent more time out of Antioch than in it, leaving the city to the impressive Chalcedonian patriarch, Anastasius I (559–70; 593–98).¹⁴⁸

The situation that pertained in the second half of the fifth century and early sixth century does not mean that factionalism did not have an impact on the possession and use of the city's churches, even if possession in theory turned over to each successive bishop, regardless of his factional affiliation. As the Coptic version indicates, Severus was obliged to repeat two days later the homily he delivered on the occasion of his consecration to the patriarchate of Antioch because his followers had

144. The exact location of the monastery is not clear: see Honigsmann, *Evêques*, p. 205, for a summary of arguments about the site.

145. See further Frend, *Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, p. 320.

146. Writing in 519–20, Severus, *Ep.* 5.12 (Brooks 1, pp. 380–85; trans. Brooks 2, pp. 337–42), indicates that the archimandrite John and presbyter John continued to care for the anti-Chalcedonian community at Antioch after Severus himself had been sent into exile. See Allen and Hayward, *Severus of Antioch*, pp. 26–27.

147. Butcher, *Roman Syria*, p. 77, speculates that the Persians negotiated peaceful surrender wherever possible, while actively supporting religious minorities, such as Jews and anti-Chalcedonians. Clive Foss, 'The Persians in the Roman Near East (602–630 AD)', *JRAS* 13 (2003), pp. 159 and 169, is supportive of the conclusion that the Persians generally supported the anti-Chalcedonians, but points out that Chalcedonians were also able to operate freely.

148. On the significance of Paul's patriarchate see the classic work of Ernest W. Brooks, 'The Patriarch Paul of Antioch and the Alexandrine Schism of 575', *BZ* 30 (1930) 468–76; for relations of the patriarchate of Antioch after Paul's death see Pauline Allen, *Sophronius of Jerusalem and Seventh-Century Heresy. The Synodical Letter and Other Documents* (Oxford Early Christian Texts; Oxford, 2009), pp. 24–26 with lit.

been unable to hear him the first time because of the tumult.¹⁴⁹ That noise was almost certainly in part the result of protesting Chalcedonian monks, who were unhappy at his election. Severus encountered the same problem several months later, when preaching in the Great Church during Lent. There he pleaded with the audience to listen in silence and behave appropriately without bumping one another while trying to jostle those at the front, and talks of how troubled he feels at having to say the same things numerous times because of the noise they are making.¹⁵⁰ Awareness that his takeover of the city's churches was greeted with less than enthusiasm may help to explain the pattern of use of churches that can be documented within the first years of his patriarchate (512-14) (Appendix, Table 4). It may be that the hostility was so great, including on the part of some of his clergy, that his use of certain churches was initially difficult and that it was only gradually that he gained full control of all of the city's worship sites. It may also explain why Severus repeated his debut sermon in the Martyrium of St Romanus, although the reason why he continued to celebrate the anniversary of his consecration there in 515, rather than in the church in which the consecration ceremony had actually taken place, may owe more to a personal devotion to the saint on Severus' part and to the development of a tradition by that time than to a continuing need to distance that event from its point of origin.

We also gain a hint of how the impact of factionalism within the Christian community at Antioch could extend beyond the fact of which community had control of which churches at a particular period when we return to the fourth century and the developing martyrial calendar. One of the noteworthy characteristics of the peculiar situation that pertained at Antioch is the number of local bishops who were celebrated as martyrs. Babylas, Ignatius, Philogonius, Eustathius, and Meletius immediately come to mind. Here the history of the three factions that existed from the fourth to early fifth century comes into play. Ignatius and Babylas were bishops of Antioch before the precise relationship of the persons of the Trinity became a matter of concern. In consequence they were a blank slate upon which any of the three factions could make their mark. As we argued in Part Two, it is likely that Babylas, at least, was appropriated at different times by the homoian and Nicene 2 communities. There we

149. Hom. 1 (PO 38/2, p. 254).

150. Hom. 16 (PO 38/2, pp. 438-39). This reading of the sermon was first offered in Pauline Allen, 'The Sixth-Century Greek Homilies: A Re-examination', in Mary B. Cunningham and Pauline Allen (eds.), *Preacher and Audience: Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics* (A New History of the Sermon 1), *Journal of Theological Studies* 201-25 at p. 219, where the crowd's behaviour was interpreted as enthusiasm.

showed how the history of his cult in the fourth century was intimately linked to the construction and use of two churches. This appropriation of Babylas and the intimate nature of the link between Meletius and the Nicene 2 community raise yet another question. If the major festivals of the liturgical year (Epiphany, Lent, Easter, etc.) were celebrated in different churches by the three different communities, what happened in the case of the cult of the saints? Were some martyrs shared by all three communities, who came together on their festivals for the procession and station at the martyrium? If the two non-approved factions were excluded from the festivals, did they continue to use the martyria for private prayer and veneration? In the case of Meletius, would the homoian, let alone the Nicene 1, community have been interested in commemorating him on an annual basis?¹⁵¹ And, once Meletius had been buried in the Church of St Babylas along with Babylas, did his presence in the church make it a less desirable location for the homoian and Nicene 1 communities? Or did the power of Babylas' relics and his long history at Antioch override such considerations? We cannot answer these questions because our sources are overwhelmingly sympathetic to, or written from, a Nicene 2 perspective. However, the fact that Flavian worked to obliterate the memory of the homoian martyrs in the martyrium at the Romanesque gate suggests that, when the factionalism within the Christian community at Antioch is taken into account, in the fourth century the relationship between official use of the churches where martyrs' relics reposed and private use becomes particularly complex. It also raises the question of whether, like the move by Christians to differentiate between their own celebration of the Maccabees and the Jewish celebration (Hanukkah),¹⁵² there were not also efforts between the factions to differentiate their martyrial calendars. It is possible, on the other hand, that the value attached to relics was so powerful in its own right that the reaction went the other way. In the case of Eustathius, in the homily John Chrysostom preached on his annual commemoration we observe sanitization of Eustathius' history to the extent that he is portrayed as a keystone in the foundation at Antioch of Nicene Christianity.¹⁵³ It is possible that the homoian community put their own spin on the history of Eustathius and Meletius in such a way that they were able to claim them with equal facility.

151. To the homoian community he had broken faith and become a heretic; to the Nicene 1 community Meletius had been consecrated by homoians and consequently his episcopate was illegitimate.

152. See Part Two, pp. 143-44.

153. See John Chrys., *In s. Eustathium* (PG 50, 602-606), where he also conveniently glosses over the fact that Meletius was consecrated as bishop of the homoian community. See also *Hom. Cult of the Saints*, pp. 49-50.

LITURGICAL ORGANIZATION AND CORPORATE USE

In this section we consider the layout of the three churches that were excavated (the Church of St Babylas, the church at Machouka, and the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria). What does the floor plan of each tell us about the liturgical use of the building by both clergy and laity? We also draw together general evidence from the homiletic corpora of John Chrysostom and Severus and occasionally from other sources concerning impermanent internal structures, equipment and furnishings.

The first point to be made is that, although two contain burials, none of the three excavated churches is by strict definition a martyrium. At least one (the church at Seleucia Pieria) was probably constructed as the main church of the city. As we have discussed at length, from the very beginning the Church of St Babylas appears to have been used more frequently and for other purposes than simply the festivals of martyrs.¹⁵⁴ In the case of the church at Machouka we can identify neither its purpose, but since it is basilical in form and the three burials appear to have been added later we will assume that it, too, was used on a regular basis. Thus we will assume in our analysis that all three churches were used in the course of their history for ordinary synaxis.

Of the three churches the archaeological evidence concerning the Church of St Babylas has been the most misinterpreted and misunderstood. In this regard Tchalenko's interpretation of the evidence and the reconstruction of the church under his direction by Baccache have been instrumental. Assuming that the primary function of the church was martyrial, Tchalenko and Baccache extrapolate the existence of doors at the end of all four arms, the absence of a sanctuary in the east arm,¹⁵⁵ and the existence of chancel barriers on all four sides of the central chamber across the arches that divide the central chamber from the four arms (fig. 141).¹⁵⁶ To explain the absence of a sanctuary Tchalenko posits the existence of a canopy on four columns mounted on the U-shaped *bema* upon which the relics of Babylas may have been displayed on occasion.¹⁵⁷

154. The avoidance of labelling the Church of St Babylas as a martyrium is important for understanding its liturgical organization. In insisting on this point we argue against the consensus, most recently expressed by Soler, *Le Sacré*, pp. 202–203, and Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 49–50, who also fails to recognize that the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria was not a martyrium. Her identification of these and other martyria directs her

155. Based on the findings of Lassus, *L'église de Babylas*.

156. Tchalenko, *Eglises syriennes*, pp. 221–22; Baccache, *Églises de la région de Hama*, p. 351, fig. 547.

157. For an example see Baccache, *Églises de village* 1, p. 351, fig. 547.

The same interpretation is proposed by Donceel-Voûte and is reproduced by Loosley in her recent review of the evidence concerning the U-shaped *bema* in the churches of north-western Syria.¹⁵⁸ In reality, clear evidence of only two doors was found by Lassus (at the end of the west arm and in the middle of the southern wall of the east arm). He located some slight evidence to support his theory that a door in the eastern wall of the north arm allowed entry to the baptistery. The only evidence that a balustrade closed off an arch of the central chamber was found on the eastern side.¹⁵⁹

There are a number of reasons for positing that the latter is evidence that the eastern arch of the central chamber alone was marked off by a chancel barrier and that the entire east arm of the church was conceived of and used as a sanctuary. There is no evidence of a door at the end of the east arm;¹⁶⁰ the pattern of its mosaic pavement is distinctive (larger and bolder than the geometric patterning in the other three arms, figs. 35–38),¹⁶¹ a number of crosses are set into the mosaic at the threshold to the central chamber (fig. 39, compared to inscriptions in this same position in the north and south arms);¹⁶² and it is the only arm that later came to be bracketed by rooms on both sides. The fact that the floor is set 20 cm lower than that of the south and north arms and the central chamber, and 52 cm lower than that of the west arm, makes the east and west arms distinctive.¹⁶³ Finally, the U-shaped *bema* that occupies much of the central chamber is oriented so that its entrance faces towards the east, which implies the existence of a corresponding sanctuary. The remains of a sanctuary were found in all of the basilical churches with U-shaped *bemata* that Tchalenko and Loosley surveyed.¹⁶⁴ Evidence of a sanctuary also exists in the central-plan church with U-shaped *bema*

158. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, pp. 30–31; Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 49–50. Loosley adds on the basis of Tchalenko, *Eglises syriennes*, p. 219, that the village of Qasbiyeh, with which Lassus identified the church, was the necropolis for the city of Antioch. This is an over-interpretation of Tchalenko, who is simply speculating on this point. The church was neither situated in the village (merely next to the road leading to it), nor is there any evidence that the village served as a necropolis. Neither did Lassus discover any evidence of a cemetery in the vicinity of the church. Burials on this side of the Orontes were clustered to the south, near the road to Alexandretta (see fig. 4). See also MacMullen, *Second Church*, pp. 26–27, who perpetuates this error.

159. See Part One, Babylas, St. Church of, pp. 33, 35.

160. Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 19, explicitly makes this point, claiming that sufficient remains of the wall survived to indicate that no door had ever existed.

161. See Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 45; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, pp. 24 and 25, fig. 8.

162. Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', pp. 20–21 and fig. 19. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 30, interprets them as apotropaic.

163. Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 18.

164. Baccache, *Eglises de village* 1, passim; Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*.

in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria. Such consistency requires that it be proved definitively that the Church of St Babylas was the exception. Sup-
 plying such proof *ex silentio* is problematic. All of the major studies on
 the U-shaped *bema* indicate that in north-west Syria it was used exclu-
 sively for the Liturgy of the Word (that part of the liturgy in which scrip-
 tural pericopes are read and a homily delivered).¹⁶⁵ There is no evidence
 that in the west-Syrian liturgy the eucharist was ever celebrated on it.¹⁶⁶
 Even if we were to accept the assumption that the church was used only
 on martyr festivals, such festivals included celebration of the eucha-
 rist.¹⁶⁷ This implies separate spaces within the church for the liturgical
 activity on the *bema* and the liturgical activity associated with the altar.
 Loosley lists three sites in north-west Syria that she believes show clear
 evidence of an altar on the *bema* covered by a *ciborium*,¹⁶⁸ but Tchalenko
 and Baccache interpret at least one of these (Basilica A at Resafa) as a
 rectangular stone base beneath a canopy which was used rather for the
 occasional display of a stone reliquary.¹⁶⁹ Had any such structure existed
 on the *bema* in the central chamber of the Church of St Babylas, it is thus
 unlikely that it would have been used for a purpose other than the occa-
 sional display of relics. Whether such a structure existed or not is thus
 irrelevant. It does not resolve the issue of where the eucharistic liturgy
 was celebrated. To counter concerns that no evidence of a sanctuary was
 located towards the end of the east arm, it should be noted that the
 mosaic pavement in that arm is poorly preserved—only the portion clos-
 est to the central chamber survives (fig. 8)—so that it is impossible to say
 whether it was interrupted towards the east end by a platform that con-
 tained seating for clergy and an altar. The tombs in the east arm are less
 uniform than in the other arms (fig. 27, cf. figs. 24–26) and cover its
 entire end. It is possible that they were added some time after the church
 fell into disuse in a continuation of the practice of burial *ad sanctos*, at
 a time when the pilfering of the church for building materials had largely

165. Taft, 'Some Notes on the Bema', and 'On the Use of the Bema'; Erich Renhart, 'Der nord-syrische Kirchenbau neu betrachtet—oder: Der verweigerter, discours de la méthode', *Heiliger Dienst* 4 (1994), pp. 318–21, and idem, *Das syrische Bema*; Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, esp. pp. 120–25.

166. Regardless, MacMullen, *Second Church*, p. 26, assumes the presence of an altar in the central chamber, above the double sarcophagus.

167. See John Chrys., *Hom. in martyres* (PG 50, 664 B–40), who says that by the time the present celebration is finished the audience will have paid attention to the scripture readings (his own homily), and the eucharist.

168. Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 122 n. 55 (the *basilica* at Chio, Basilica A at Resafa).

169. Baccache, *Eglises de village* 1, pp. 310–28; Tchalenko, *Eglises de village*, pp. 209–10.

obliterated internal structures.¹⁷⁰ Additionally, the baptismal complex is built into the north-east angle of the church, while all of the rooms that enclose the south-east angle of the church indicate that this suite of rooms and the courtyard that they bracketed were a *locus* of activity. This suggests a greater emphasis on the activity that took place in the east arm. The other three arms of the church are relatively free of such structures (fig. 8).

If we accept that the entire east arm of the church functioned as a sanctuary and was the *locus* for the eucharistic liturgy, this helps to explain the function of the two rooms (8 and 11) that were later added to either side of the arm and the clear evidence of a door providing entry into room 11 from the middle of the arm's southern side (figs. 14–15). It also explains why both rooms show evidence of mosaic paving. If both rooms were fully enclosed rather than porticos open to the outside, the floor would not have been exposed to the elements. The expense of decorating the floors of rooms used by the clergy assigned to the church, on the other hand, could presumably be justified. Lassus' dismissal of the possibility that the two rooms functioned as a *prothesis* and *diakonikon* or as subsidiary chapels was based on his failure to find evidence of a sanctuary in the east arm.¹⁷¹ If we view the absence of a sanctuary rather as a failure in the archaeological evidence, then in this light any impediment to interpreting the rooms is removed. Their precise use is impossible to determine, but we should expect that, if the entire east arm functioned as a sanctuary, entry was restricted to the clergy and that therefore, rather than side martyria (which would have required access by the laity), they were used for storage of items like offerings brought by the laity, and liturgical vessels.

If the east arm and the *bema* within the central chamber were restricted to the movement of clergy, this raises the question of where the laity stood in the church and how they moved in and out. Part of the solution to this question lies with how we interpret use of the *bema*. All of the evidence concerning the U-shaped *bema* is that it is distinctive to the west-Syrian liturgy and that it was used during the Service of the Word.¹⁷² At that point in the liturgy the clergy would move, most probably in

170. Another possibility, that the tombs were set into the floor of the sanctuary at some point when it was in use, cannot be entirely discarded, but is less likely. Yassin, *Saints and Churches*, pp. 72–97, presents archaeological evidence for burials, particularly of clergy, in the region of the altar, but much of her evidence derives from North Africa.

171. See Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', pp. 19, 25–26, 34.

172. That is, the scripture-based segment within a larger liturgy, whether a vigil, ordi-
 nary or extra-ordinary synaxis with or without eucharist, or liturgy of the hours. Loosley,

procession, from their seats in the sanctuary to the *bema*. When that segment of the liturgy was concluded they would move back to the sanctuary. U-shaped *bemata* typically contain benches for the clergy and at the curve of the U a lectern (or *bema*-throne) that faces away from the curve of the U a lectern (or *bema*-throne) that faces away from the sanctuary (usually towards the west).¹⁷³ The lectern appears primarily to have held the Gospel book for the duration of the Liturgy of the Word,¹⁷⁴ but if the entire Liturgy of the Word was conducted from the *bema* it makes sense that it was from this same lectern that the homilist preached. Once we understand that both lector and homilist faced west, it becomes reasonable to suppose that a substantial portion of the audience stood in the west arm of the church in front of them. This is consistent with evidence of an entrance/exit at the end of the west arm (figs. 8, 18).¹⁷⁵ We cannot suppose that the entire audience was situated in that arm, however, since at this point in time the lay audience was usually segregated according to gender. This could be achieved by physical location (upstairs—downstairs, left aisle—right aisle) or by physical or notional barriers.¹⁷⁶ Segregation also necessitated more than one door. The basilical churches situated in north-west Syria tend to have a minimum of two entrances, situated to the west and south of the building.¹⁷⁷ The structure attached along the western side of the south arm of the Church of St Babylas that Lassus identified as a portico (room 16, fig. 16) may

Architecture and Liturgy, p. 78, concludes on the basis of the archaeological evidence that the use of the U-shaped *bema* in fact radiated from Antioch outwards and is more or less restricted to locations that were part of the *territorium* administered by that see.

173. Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 122–23. For examples of reconstructions see Baccache, *Eglises de village* 1, passim. For a photograph of a surviving *bema*-throne see Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 281–83, figs. 217–20.

174. Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 123.

175. The only clearly identifiable portico is attached to the end of the west arm (Lassus, 'L'église cruciforme', p. 21). Lassus, *ibid.*, pp. 22–23, also identifies room 16 (along the western side of the south arm) as a portico, but this identification is less certain. His identification of rooms 8 and 11 as porticoes we have already dismissed.

176. John Chrys., *In Matt. hom. 73/74* (PG 58, 677), refers to a wooden partition dividing the men from the women in the church in which he is preaching. These partitions, he has Antioch, indicates both that such partitions are common in the local churches in John's time and, since he himself knows no different, that the partitions were installed prior to his childhood (that is, before the 350s). Notches in the pillars of some of the churches in the limestone *urgis*, pp. 28, 196–97, and Baccache, *Eglises de village* 1, passim, who reconstructs barriers in barrier transversed the nave, necessitating separate entrances for men and women. Men occupied Liturgical Space. Aspects of the Interaction Between John Chrysostom and His Audiences', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 111 (1997), pp. 104–15.

177. Castellana, 'Una chiesa bizantina', Loosley, *Archaeology and Liturgy*, pp. 27–28.

well have served this purpose. If this is the case, then we should not expect a door at the end of the south arm, but an entrance at the side that fed into that arm of the church from the portico. This would indicate that one gender occupied the west arm, another the south arm. There is nothing to suggest that an entrance existed in the north arm. All that can be said is that, like the south arm, at the threshold to the central chamber an inscription in the mosaic paving faces the central chamber (figs. 35, 37, 8), suggesting that it was anticipated that anyone standing in that arm would be facing the central chamber. The position of the mosaic inscription in the west arm may also be indicative of anticipated movement. Rather than facing the central chamber, it faces away from it towards the western entrance/exit (figs. 8, 38). Unlike the other two inscriptions it is located in the centre of the floor. It may be that this is indicative of processional movement from the church via the west entrance.¹⁷⁸ The surviving archaeological evidence is too tenuous to support a definitive conclusion.

To sum up, then, from the beginning the assumption that the Church of St Babylas functioned solely as a 'martyrium' has dominated the interpretation of the building's liturgical organization. When it is recognized that the church was from its beginning used liturgically in a more complex way, interpretation of its liturgical planning alters significantly. Interpretation also changes when the church is viewed not in isolation but within the context of north-west Syrian liturgical practice. Within this setting it becomes clear that the U-shaped *bema* requires an east-facing sanctuary, that the rooms on the side of the east arm were thus not porticoes, but chambers with a probable liturgical purpose, and that the entries to the church were gender-specific and, in being situated at the west and south-west of the building, conformed to north-west Syrian practice elsewhere. It is unlikely thus that there were external doors at other points in the building that were accessible to the laity. The presence of a chancel barrier solely across the entrance from the central chamber to the east arm of the church, a threshold marked uniquely by crosses in the mosaic floor, is also consistent with this interpretation. The position of the baptistery suite in the north-east corner and the indication of concentrated activity in the courtyard and rooms to the south-east of the

178. Regarding the deliberate positioning of such mosaic inscriptions for the purpose of keeping the donor's memory alive see Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, pp. 129–34. At p. 132 she points out that benefaction texts were nearly always oriented to attract the congregation's eyes as passively as possible, calling out to them as they moved in and out of the church. In the case that she documents, the inscriptions often explicitly ask the reader to pray for the donor. She concludes (p. 150) that their function moved beyond the search for immortality in memory to eternal reward, facilitated by the prayer of fellow Christians, in heaven.

building serve to highlight the concentration of activity in the central chamber and eastern arm of the church. When viewed in this light, activity is no longer focused on the relics in the central chamber, while the audience is located in all four arms of the church.¹⁷⁹ Rather, the east arm is used exclusively by the clergy, who move between the sanctuary in the east arm and the U-shaped *bema* in the central chamber, while the audience is primarily gender-segregated between the west and south (perhaps, also north) arms (fig. 142).

This reading of the archaeological evidence may well be valid for only part of the church's history, namely the latter part of the fourth century and the decades of the fifth century during which its baptistery was actively in use. The possibility that during the fifth or sixth century it ceased to be used for regular worship and became primarily a martyrial church, with a resultant contraction in formal liturgical use, should also be entertained.

The church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria likewise raises some interesting questions. In this instance we are not dealing with an architectural form that is unique within the west-Syrian context and so have other examples for comparison.¹⁸⁰ The closest in form is the tetraconch church at Apamea, which also has a wing projecting to the east that terminates in an apse. The two churches were built within perhaps a quarter-century of each other.¹⁸¹ Where the two differ, however, is in the location of the sanctuary. In the church at Apamea, the eastern *exedra* of the inner quatrefoil is fully enclosed and contains a *synthronon* with a *cathedra* at its centre. The altar is positioned in front of the *cathedra*

179. See most recently Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, pp. 49–50; and MacMullen, *Second Church*, p. 28.

180. This is different from the Church of St Babylas, where comparison with the cruciform martyrion of Symeon Stylites the Elder at Qal'at Sim'an, for instance, is unhelpful. In that instance we are not dealing with comparable examples. The Church of St Babylas is almost a century earlier, has no regional antecedents, and the entire cruciform shape is utilized as a single place of worship. In the case of Qal'at Sim'an, the east arm of the building terminates in a triple apse and has an *ambo* situated in the middle, indicating that the arm could, if necessary, function independently as a triple-apsed basilica. The central chamber (octagonal, rather than square in form) contains the column of Symeon. Liturgical action is thus shifted away from the centre of the church and isolated in the east arm. The arms are not of equal length. The east is the longest and the west the shortest. See Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, pp. 225–40 and fig. 209; and Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces*, pp. 170–71. On the other hand, at Qal'at Sim'an although the north, west and south arms all show evidence of entrances, it is the south arm that is preceded by a narthex, indicating that it was the principal point of entry. This may support the existence of a door in the north arm of the Church of St Babylas.

181. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, p. 226, notes that the Church at Apamea in the first quarter of the sixth century. Cf. Kleinbauer, *Origin and Functions*, p. 94. Balty, 'Le groupe épiscopal',

parallel with the termini of the *synthronon*.¹⁸² In the church in Seleucia, the eastern *exedra* of the inner tetrafoil is open rather than enclosed and is defined by a group of columns (fig. 80). The church is also distinctive in that a large portion of the space within the inner quatrefoil is occupied by a U-shaped *bema* (fig. 95). A *bema* of this kind is absent in all comparable instances of a tetraconch church within Syria.¹⁸³ Since the presence of a U-shaped *bema* requires a corresponding facing sanctuary to the east, and the eastern *exedra*, where one might expect to locate the sanctuary on analogy with the church at Apamea is open, the apse-ended east wing itself becomes the most likely candidate. It is open to the ambulatory for most of its full width, the view being interrupted by just two columns. Originally the wing had no other entrances. The base of a screen that marked off its apse was discovered.¹⁸⁴ Consistent with this interpretation is the conformity in paving between the central quatrefoil, the eastern ambulatory and the wing, which are all paved in marble. The marble paving in the eastern ambulatory interrupts the double parade of animals depicted in the mosaic paving that extends around the remainder of the ambulatory. Also consistent with this interpretation is the threshold from the ambulatory to the wing, where on either side of a surviving column base sockets cut into the limestone blocks were discovered.¹⁸⁵ Although Campbell believed that they were too small to support a chancel screen and interpreted them as supporting a rail, the segregation of the wing from the rest of the church is nonetheless suggestive. That the sanctuary is located in the east-projecting wing supports Kleinbauer's thesis that the U-shaped stone *bema* belongs to the first phase of construction,¹⁸⁶ since, if the inner quatrefoil had not been occupied by the *bema* the sanctuary could have been comfortably accommodated within the eastern *exedra* of the inner quatrefoil, as at Apamea, and there would have been no need for a projecting sanctuary.

182. See Balty, 'Le groupe épiscopal', p. 191, fig. 3; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, p. 213, fig. 192. A similar arrangement occurs in the central-plan church at Resafa. It does not have a projecting east wing, so there is no alternative. See Brands, *Resafa*, p. 124, fig. 16.

183. See Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', figs. 5–12 (Resafa, Apamea, Bosra, Amida). For greater detail concerning the tetraconch at Resafa see Brands, *Resafa*, pp. 121–79.

184. See Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 40. He notes that the screen is probably in its original location, but shows signs of having been reset.

185. Campbell, 'The Martyrion', p. 40.

186. See Kleinbauer, 'Origin and Functions', p. 94. Another option is that a wooden or partly wooden *bema* originally occupied the nave and that this was replaced by a stone version during the second phase of construction. Examples where the *bema* constituted a wooden superstructure set into a stone base exist in churches of the limestone massif. See Stronach, *Toten Städte*, p. 42, regarding the church at Bräid.

If we assume liturgical movement by the clergy between the projecting wing and the U-shaped *bema*, the next question to be answered is where the audience stood. In this case, it is easier to arrive at an answer, since, despite its central plan, what can now be viewed as the nave is analogous to those of the basilical churches of the limestone massif. If we assume that the lay audience was segregated by gender, the eight doors set into the sides of the outer L-shaped corners facilitated separate entry and exit for men and women (fig. 80). In basilical churches with U-shaped *bemata* women stood to the rear (the west) and men to the front, closest to the sanctuary.¹⁸⁷ It is not unlikely that this habit persisted. Since in the tetraconch design there are ample doors and the *bema* itself occupies a substantial part of the inner nave, it is possible that no physical barrier was erected, custom being sufficient to keep the two genders apart. What the liturgical experience was like for a lay audience is another matter. The portion of the interior space reserved for liturgical action by the clergy is considerable, giving the impression that the laity have been marginalized (fig. 80). This impression may be false, however, since, as Loosley points out, a similar ratio exists in a church at Qirq Bizeh that was converted from a house in the fourth century.¹⁸⁸ The variation in ratio between the size of the *bema* and the size of the nave in the churches of north-west Syria is considerable and appears to be random.¹⁸⁹

Of interest in the case of both the Church of St Babylas and the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria are the baptistery suites added in a second phase of construction. In both cases these were located in the north-east of the church complex (figs. 8, 80). The same arrangement is found in the central-plan church at Resafa.¹⁹⁰ In all three cases the baptistery has no external entrance and is accessed from inside the church.¹⁹¹ In the case of the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria it was perhaps

187. Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 28.

188. Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 143 (for comparative dates see pp. 159-60).

189. For comparative diagrams of the ratio and the position of the *bema* relative to the nave in a large number of churches from the region see Tchalenko, *Eglises syriennes*, pp. 242-50.

190. See Brands, *Resafa*, fig. 16; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 290. The church is probably contemporary with the tetraconch at Apamea (Brands, *Resafa*, pp. 176-79).

191. While a number of churches in north-west Syria follow this pattern, other arrangements existed. In the church complex at Hürte, which shows development from the late fourth to early sixth centuries, the old baptistery was attached to the church to the north-west (Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 96, fig. 64), while the new baptistery was located again to the north-west, but was free-standing and separated from the old churches by a portico (Ganivet, *Le Michelion*, pp. 88, fig. 1, 90; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 90). Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* 1, p. 493, points out, however, that the church at Hürte belongs architecturally and geographically to churches in the region of Apamea rather than Antioch.

also accessible from another part of the church complex (fig. 80).¹⁹² At the time that the latter baptistery suite was added, utilizing the north wall of the sanctuary of the church, a portal was set into the side of the sanctuary to provide access. In the case of the Church of St Babylas, the baptistery suite was formed by enclosing the north-east angle of the building. In the same way that a portal was set into the wall of the existing sanctuary in Seleucia Pieria, a door must have been created in the wall of the existing church. Lassus thought that he found slight evidence of this in the east wall of the north arm. No evidence survives to indicate whether entry was possible via room 8, but the orientation of the inscription in room 3 (the *pistikon*) implies movement from that chamber into room 2 (the baptistery) rather than the other way around. The identification by inscription of room 3 as a *pistikon*, a term otherwise unattested, suggests that the room may have been used at the very least for the confession of faith that preceded the actual rite of baptism.¹⁹³ The baptistery suites in both the Church of St Babylas and the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria have an additional room (figs. 8, 28, 80, 91), which may have been used by the catechumens for disrobing before baptism or for some other purpose. In the case of the church at Seleucia, this was created by walling off the space between the apse of the sanctuary and the apse containing the font. In the suite at the Church of St Babylas it is a rectangular room behind the font, into which the curvature of the font intrudes. This room may have been added after the construction of rooms 2, 3 and 8 and is itself further subdivided in two rooms of unequal size (9 and 10). Room 10 has a drain for the evacuation of waste water. The water from the font evacuated to the outside through a drain beneath the floor of room 9. The presence of both a *pistikon* and two rooms behind the font in addition to the chamber in which the font is situated raises interesting questions about how the suite was used, which unfortunately we cannot answer at present.

Before concluding our discussion of the liturgical organization of the church at Seleucia Pieria, it is important to note the addition of two appended rectangular rooms during the second phase of construction

192. Because of existing modern structures, excavation of the full extent of the complex could not be pursued. The site drawing shows a flagstone-paved passage or room to the north of the antechamber of the baptistery with a doorway to the antechamber, but it is unknown whether that room had passage to the outside.

193. The renunciation of the devil and oath of allegiance to Christ by the catechumens took place on the evening of either Wednesday or Thursday of Holy Week. See de Roten, *Baptême et mystagogie*, pp. 207-16, who considers it the culmination of the catechumenate, rather than part of the baptismal rite itself.

(figs. 80-81). One was constructed along the south side of the sanctuary (mirroring the baptistery to the north). The apse is oriented towards the east. An entry to it was cut into the south wall of the sanctuary just in front of the chancel screen. At the west end of this annex, a door provided entry to a fully enclosed room. This is mirrored by a room on the other side of the sanctuary accessed via a door from the ante-chamber to the baptistery. The apse-ended annex can be interpreted either as a martyr chapel in which a reliquary chest or chests may have been located, or as a room used for various purposes by the clergy.¹⁹⁴ The site has been plundered too thoroughly to provide any evidence. The second apse-ended rectangular room is situated to the south of the south-eastern L-shaped outer corner of the church, making it accessible from the two exits in that corner. In this case the apse is oriented towards the west. Campbell interpreted both of these additions as chapels, but without clear evidence no conclusion can be drawn.

The third church for which archaeological evidence exists that allows some analysis of its liturgical organization is the church at Machouka, in the northern suburbs of Antioch (fig. 59). The precise date of the church is unknown and the field notes indicate that it may have gone through several phases of construction.¹⁹⁵ The evidence in this instance is puzzling.¹⁹⁶ Although in essence it is a simple three-aisled basilica, the liturgical organization does not conform to what is usually found in basilical churches within the territory of Antioch.¹⁹⁷ The three tombs that it contains are in the narthex, not in the nave or in an annex on either side of the sanctuary (figs. 61, 71-72). The enclosure of part of the narthex to create what was most likely a martyr chapel requires entry from the base of the southern (right) aisle. There is no evidence of a *bema*, although this is not necessarily problematic, as Loosley argues for the existence of a U-shaped *bema* in only one church per town or village, usually the oldest, largest and most significant.¹⁹⁸ At Antioch the Church

194. In triple-apsed basilicas the rooms on either side of the sanctuary are often interpreted as the *diakonikon* and *prothesis*. On the other hand, in north-west Syria reliquary chests are not infrequently found in such rooms either to the right or left of the sanctuary. See the discussion in *Mobile Bodies and Private Veneration*, p. 195.

195. See Part One, Church 3. In Machouka, pp. 56-57. Campbell supposes an original single-apsed basilica with a semi-circular apse. The two side aisles and narthex were added later, at which point the apse was squared off. The detail is derived largely from Campbell's field notes, rather than Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* fig. 25.

196. See Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, pp. 130-31, who comes to the same conclusion.

197. The bulk of these churches are antiochian. For a discussion of the village: Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* Tchaltouho, *Église de la Vierge*.

198. Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 100.

of St Babylas may not have been the oldest, but it was certainly the largest and most likely maintained that status for some time. If her argument can be sustained, this may supply further evidence that the Church of St Babylas was planned at the beginning as something other than a martyrion and had a unique status at Antioch from the start. What is peculiar in the church at Machouka is evidence of a raised platform that extended in front of the apse from the middle of which projected a pier or walkway that was marked off by a screen. The stones that bracket the pier show evidence of sockets into which such a screen could be set (figs. 63-64). This may be the remnant of a *solea*, a walkway that extended between the sanctuary and *ambo*.¹⁹⁹ That no evidence of a stone *ambo* was found is immaterial, since the portion of floor on which it would have been situated is eroded to below the mosaic pavement. Equally peculiar is a well set into the floor on the north side of the nave near the colonnade, more or less midway along (fig. 73).²⁰⁰ Neither Levi nor Campbell discusses its existence, and thus it is difficult to determine whether it dates from the same period as the church. There is evidence of a room to the north of the apse, but no evidence of a corresponding room on the south side.²⁰¹ The remains have been so severely pilfered that it is impossible to determine whether there were doors set into either of the outer walls of the side aisles, in addition to an entry via the narthex.²⁰² The existence of a door in the south wall would have facilitated access to the section of narthex subsequently enclosed to form a martyr chapel, offering some slight argument for the existence of a second entrance. Separate entrances for men and women in the north-west Syrian style cannot be assumed, however, given the otherwise non-standard features of this church.

It is difficult to know how to interpret this evidence. As Donceel-Voûte notes, some of these features are more typical of churches in the region of Cilicia or Isauria or Apamea (that is, southern Syria),²⁰³ while narthex intra-floor burial is not uncommon in sixth-century churches

199. The *ambo* is a small raised platform situated in the nave, usually with steps to the east and west, from which a member of the clergy delivered the sermon. For an example see Basilica 8 at Resafa (Brands, *Resafa*, p. 94, fig. 11; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, pp. 280-81).

200. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, p. 177, who was working from the site drawing published by Levi, *Mosaic Pavements* I, p. 367, rather than the field notes, was puzzled by this and thought it must have been the base of a small podium.

201. It should be noted, however, that the apse was only partially excavated.

202. Concerning the typical presence of two to three doors in basilical churches in the Antiochene region (set into the west and south-west) see n. 177 above.

203. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements* I, p. 177.

in Cappadocia.²⁰⁴ According to Haensch's analysis, the donor inscription found in the north aisle is likewise atypical for north-west Syria, being more commonly found in the provinces of Isauria, Cilicia, Palaestina and Arabia.²⁰⁵ If we assume that the triple-aisled configuration of the church dates from somewhere in the sixth century, it is possible that in the church at Machouka we have evidence of either a migrant community that worshipped, perhaps even lived, in the northern suburbs of Antioch, or a Christian faction whose liturgical practices differed from those that were identifiably Chalcedonian or anti-Chalcedonian. Whatever the date of the church, the supposition that the building was used by a community that was not part of the Antiochene mainstream Christian community is a solution that makes best sense of the peculiarities that the church exhibits, at least on the basis of present knowledge.

While the archaeological evidence provides us with information about the layout of church buildings and about more permanent structures, such as baptismal fonts, *bemata*, *cathedrae* and *synthrona*, it is to texts such as sermons that we must turn for evidence of liturgical furnishings that were less permanent.²⁰⁶ In rare cases such texts also supply information about liturgical actions. We have just noted the existence of a well in the floor of the church at Machouka. In the case of the Church of St Babylas a complicated system of ceramic pipes was found that connected to or flowed around various parts of the building (fig. 28).²⁰⁷ Among them is a pipe that enters the courtyard from the direction of the Orontes. Although Lassus interpreted the entire system as either a catchment system for rainwater or a system to divert rainwater from the roof away from the foundations, as we noted in Part One many of the pipes are of the kind usually employed for the supply of water rather than drainage. Churches required water for a number of reasons. One was for the washing of one's hands prior to entering a church. Another was the filling of the font for baptism. If clergy were living in external rooms, they would have required water for personal use and for their animals. Although none of the homilies in which he mentions hand-basins and fountains in the courtyards or atria of churches can be definitively assigned to Antioch, John Chrysostom witnesses to the fact that in the

204. See Natalia B. Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia* (OCA 252; Rome, 1996), pp. 169–73.

205. See Rudolf Haensch, 'Antiochenische und syrische christliche Verbreitung und lokale Praktiken', *Kölner Jahrbuch* 35 (1982), pp. 206–208, 210–211, 213–214, 216–217, 219–220, 222–223, 225–226, 228–229, 231–232, 234–235, 237–238, 240–241, 243–244, 246–247, 249–250, 252–253, 255–256, 258–259, 261–262, 264–265, 267–268, 270–271, 273–274, 276–277, 279–280, 282–283, 285–286, 288–289, 291–292, 294–295, 297–298, 300–301, 303–304, 306–307, 309–310, 312–313, 315–316, 318–319, 321–322, 324–325, 327–328, 330–331, 333–334, 336–337, 339–340, 342–343, 345–346, 348–349, 351–352, 354–355, 357–358, 360–361, 363–364, 366–367, 369–370, 372–373, 375–376, 378–379, 381–382, 384–385, 387–388, 390–391, 393–394, 396–397, 399–400, 402–403, 405–406, 408–409, 411–412, 414–415, 417–418, 420–421, 423–424, 426–427, 429–430, 432–433, 435–436, 438–439, 441–442, 444–445, 447–448, 450–451, 453–454, 456–457, 459–460, 462–463, 465–466, 468–469, 471–472, 474–475, 477–478, 480–481, 483–484, 486–487, 489–490, 492–493, 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828–829, 831–832, 834–835, 837–838, 840–841, 843–844, 846–847, 849–850, 852–853, 855–856, 858–859, 861–862, 864–865, 867–868, 870–871, 873–874, 876–877, 879–880, 882–883, 885–886, 888–889, 891–892, 894–895, 897–898, 900–901, 903–904, 906–907, 909–910, 912–913, 915–916, 918–919, 921–922, 924–925, 927–928, 930–931, 933–934, 936–937, 939–940, 942–943, 945–946, 948–949, 951–952, 954–955, 957–958, 960–961, 963–964, 966–967, 969–970, 972–973, 975–976, 978–979, 981–982, 984–985, 987–988, 990–991, 993–994, 996–997, 999–1000, 1002–1003, 1005–1006, 1008–1009, 1011–1012, 1014–1015, 1017–1018, 1020–1021, 1023–1024, 1026–1027, 1029–1030, 1032–1033, 1035–1036, 1038–1039, 1041–1042, 1044–1045, 1047–1048, 1050–1051, 1053–1054, 1056–1057, 1059–1060, 1062–1063, 1065–1066, 1068–1069, 1071–1072, 1074–1075, 1077–1078, 1080–1081, 1083–1084, 1086–1087, 1089–1090, 1092–1093, 1095–1096, 1098–1099, 1101–1102, 1104–1105, 1107–1108, 1110–1111, 1113–1114, 1116–1117, 1119–1120, 1122–1123, 1125–1126, 1128–1129, 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3018–3019, 3021–3022, 3024–3025, 3027–3028, 3030–3031, 3032–3033, 3035–3036, 3038–3039, 3041–3042, 3044–3045, 3047–3048, 3050–3051, 3053–3054, 3056–3057, 3059–3060, 3062–3063, 3065–3066, 3068–3069, 3071–3072, 3074–3075, 3077–3078, 3080–3081, 3083–3084, 3086–3087, 3089–3090, 3092–3093, 3095–3096, 3098–3099, 3101–3102, 3104–3105, 3107–3108, 3109–3110, 3112–3113, 3115–3116, 3118–3119, 3121–3122, 3124–3125, 3127–3128, 3130–3131, 3132–3133, 3135–3136, 3138–3139, 3141–3142, 3144–3145, 3147–3148, 3150–3151, 3153–3154, 3156–3157, 3159–3160, 3162–3163, 3165–3166, 3168–3169, 3171–3172, 3174–3175, 3177–3178, 3180–3181, 3183–3184, 3186–3187, 3189–3190, 3192–3193, 3195–3196, 3198–3199, 3201–3202, 3204–3205, 3207–3208, 3209–3210, 3212–3213, 3215–3216, 3218–3219, 3221–3222, 3224–3225, 3227–3228, 3230–3231, 3232–3233, 3235–3236, 3238–3239, 3241–3242, 3244–3245, 3247–3248, 3250–3251, 3253–3254, 3256–3257, 3259–3260, 3262–3263, 3265–3266, 3268–3269, 3271–3272, 3274–3275, 3277–3278, 3280–3281, 3283–3284, 3286–3287, 3289–3290, 3292–3293, 3295–3296, 3298–3299, 3301–3302, 3304–3305, 3307–3308, 3309–3310, 3312–3313, 3315–3316, 3318–3319, 3321–3322, 3324–3325, 3327–3328, 3330–3331, 3332–3333, 3335–3336, 3338–3339, 3341–3342, 3344–3345, 3347–3348, 3350–3351, 3353–3354, 3356–3357, 3359–3360, 3362–3363, 3365–3366, 3368–3369, 3371–3372, 3374–3375, 3377–3378, 3380–3381, 3383–3384, 3386–3387, 3389–3390, 3392–3393, 3395–3396, 3398–3399, 3401–3402, 3404–3405, 3407–3408, 3409–3410, 3412–3413, 3415–3416, 3418–3419, 3421–3422, 3424–3425, 3427–3428, 3430–3431, 3432–3433, 3435–3436, 3438–3439, 3441–3442, 3444–3445, 3447–3448, 3450–3451, 3453–3454, 3456–3457,

columns and the expense spent on decorating the floor, the walls and the column capitals.²¹⁶ In another possibly Antiochene homily he refers to a lamp-stand (*lucerna*) found in the church, the primary purpose of which is not the provision of light but of oil for chrismation, specifically for healing.²¹⁷ From these passages it is clear that a number of rituals were regularly performed in churches that were liturgical but not necessarily part of the formal liturgy. The episode with the lighting of the lamps indicates that non-liturgical tasks might also be performed that in fact disrupted the performance of the liturgy.

In terms of impermanent furnishings, in the same passage in which John Chrysostom refers to the lamp-stand with oil for chrismation he also refers to a box or chest (*κιβώτιον*) placed in the church for the collection of alms. Collection boxes (*γαροφυλάκια*) also existed in the churches of Antioch in both the late 300s and the 530s and were used on one occasion for collecting donations from the city's inhabitants for the ransom of captives held by the Saracens.²¹⁸ John Chrysostom also indicates that curtains of some kind hid the altar during the Liturgy of the Word and that these were raised once the uninitiated had been dismissed and the eucharistic liturgy was in progress.²¹⁹ Van de Paverd believes that these obscured the entire sanctuary, rather than being hung from a *ciborium* (canopy) over the altar, thus obscuring the altar alone.²²⁰ In the 580s, however, such curtains clearly did hide only the altar. Evagrius informs us that the curtain surrounding the altar in the Church of the Theotokos caught fire one night when the emperor Maurice was offering

Antioch contain the remnants of altars in the sanctuary (Kimār, Sheih Sleimān, Sergible, Dehes). These usually comprise a rectangular stone base with sockets at each corner and a fifth socket in the middle (Baccache, *Eglises de village* 1, pp. 96, 136, 152, 202; Loosley, *Architecture and Liturgy*, p. 243). The Sion treasure (mid-6th century, Syria) contains an example of silver altar cladding, including silver nails, currently on display in the museum at Dumbarton Oaks (BZ1063.36b,c,d; BZ1965.110f,g,k; BZ1963.36.30).

216. The Dumbarton Oaks collection also contains an example of a column shaft with acanthus capital in silver (mid-6th century), likewise on display in the museum (BZ1963.3613, BZ1965.19).

217. In Matt. hom. 32/33 (PG 57, 384-85).

218. Malalas, *Chron.* 18.59 (Thurn, p. 387; trans. Jeffreys et al., p. 270). Concerning the late fourth century see John Chrys., *De elemosyna* (PG 61, 286-31-34), who urges his audience to collect money for alms at home for the poor, of which the collection boxes at church are a symbol.

219. John Chrys., *In I Cor. hom.* 36 (PG 61, 313). The location and uncertain provenance, but is possibly Antiochene.

220. See van de Paverd, *Zur Geschichte*, pp. 42-87, who argues that these were modelled on secular courts in which the judge sat on the throne. The second passage that he adduces (John Chrys., *In Eph. hom.* 3, PG 62, 200-201) also leads to the same conclusions may in fact refer to the situation at Constantinople.

incense.²²¹ Six decades earlier Severus witnesses to the existence of a *ciborium* in a church that contained the relics of St Drosis. This is constructed of silver-clad columns that support a cupola. At the time he is preaching the cupola is bare, unsightly and lacking in form, the shape as yet picked out only with iron rods that require an overlay of silver.²²² Situated above the altar, it appears to have been part of the design of the church, which may indicate that its construction or renovation was recent.²²³ That silver and gold doves (fig. 133) hung over the altars and baptismal fonts in the churches of Antioch in the period preceding 512 is indicated by the charge brought against Severus at the Synod of Constantinople in 536 that he removed these from the churches within his patriarchate.²²⁴ The capacity to suspend a dove over the altar may indicate that by 512 the presence of *ciboria* in the sanctuaries of churches in Antioch was normative.

The claim that in 540 the Persians looted one of the churches of Antioch of vast sums of gold and silver in addition to ornamental marble alludes to the possession by Syrian churches at this period of substantial numbers of liturgical vessels and objects in silver and silver-gilt.²²⁵ One particular hoard, associated with a Church of St Sergius at Kaper Karaon, situated in the vicinity of Antioch in the limestone massif, and dating from the sixth century, contains fifty-five liturgical objects and a piece of silver revetment.²²⁶ Among the items donated to the church, which collectively incorporate an estimated 82 pounds of silver,²²⁷ are crosses, chalices, patens, ewers, spoons, lampstands, fans, and a strainer.²²⁸ While the use of chalices, patens and ewers during the

221. Evagrius, *HE* 5.21 (Bidez and Parmentier, p. 216; trans. Whitby, pp. 283-84).

222. Marlia Mundell Mango, 'The Monetary Value of Silver Revetments and Objects Belonging to Churches, A.D. 300-700', in Susan A. Boyd and Marlia Mundell Mango (eds.), *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium* (Washington, DC, 1992), pp. 123-36 at pp. 126-27, speculates that the rods correspond to the ribs of the silver revetment depicted on a *ciborium* in the mosaics at Qartamin, which date to 512 CE. For an example of a silver column with acanthus capital from this same period see n. 216 above.

223. Severus, *Hom.* 100 (PO 22/2, p. 246).

224. Zacharias Rhetor, *Vita Severi* (PO 2/3, p. 342); cf. Honigsmann, *Evêques*, p. 23 with n. 4.

225. Procopius, *De bello persico* 2.9.14-16, 2.10.6-9 (Haury 4, pp. 192-94). See *Vita Sym. Syr.* (V) 126 (trans. Doran, p. 193) where large silver censers are associated with the Great Church.

226. See Mundell Mango, 'Monetary Value', figs. 2 and 13-20; and eadem, 'Liturgical Silver', pp. 35, 39 and 41. On the revetment of liturgical furniture in silver (including altars, ciboria, throna and doors) see Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, p. 8.

227. Mundell Mango, 'Monetary Value', p. 134.

228. For photographs of the complete treasure see Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, pp. 68-226 (catalogue entries 1-56).

eucharistic liturgy are self-explanatory, Marlia Mundell Mango speculates that the spoons, which are common among ecclesiastical treasures of the period, were possibly lowered into the consecrated wine for stirring or distribution.²²⁹ Since the fans were used to keep insects off the sacrament,²³⁰ it is possible, however, that the spoons were also required to remove discreetly insects and other contaminants from the wine after it had been poured into the chalice. The church to which this large inventory of liturgical vessels and paraliturgical equipment belonged was situated in just a village. The store of equipment in gold and silver removed at this same period by Khusrō from a single well-endowed church in a city of the size and wealth of Antioch is likely to have been more extensive.

PERSONNEL

The inscriptions that were found in the Church of St Babylas and in the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria mention a number of clergy associated with those churches. In this section we discuss briefly what kind of personnel were associated with churches at Antioch and what roles they likely played.

The three inscriptions in the north, west and south arms of the Church of St Babylas all refer to the bishop Flavian, the steward (οικονόμος) Eusebius, and the presbyter Dorys. Two of the inscriptions tell us that Eusebius was also a presbyter. The last of the three inscriptions was set into the floor in 387 CE.²³¹ In the 420s a further inscription was added. In this inscription we learn that the bishop at that time was Theodotus, we learn of a steward and presbyter named Athanasius and have described for us two additional roles, those of deacon and custodian/caretaker (παραινόμενος). The name of the individual who fills these last two roles is Akkiba.²³² These inscriptions can be aligned with other information to help us to understand the roles that Flavian, Eusebius and Dorys, and Theodotus, Athanasius and Akkiba played. To begin with the first set of inscriptions, we know that as bishop Flavian was active in at least one instance in initiating alterations to a church.²³³ We also know

229. See Mundell Mango, 'Liturgical Silver', p. 308.

230. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium*, p. 10, and 'Liturgical Silver', pp. 248–49.

231. See Part One, pp. 41–42.

232. See Part One, p. 42.

233. See Part One, Martyrium 2. At the Romanossee, see also the discussion in Part Two, Phase Two, pp. 141–42.

that the Church of St Babylas was constructed on the initiative of his predecessor, Meletius, and that, if John Chrysostom's encomiastic remarks are to be relied upon, Meletius petitioned the emperor and other government officials in the course of setting up the project as well as inspecting progress at the building site in person in the company of his administrators (μετὰ τῶν προσεδρευόντων αὐτῷ).²³⁴ His steward is likely to have been one of them, which explains why in these inscriptions the names of both the bishop and the steward of the affairs of the Christian community responsible for the addition appear first. It is of interest to note that in these inscriptions the steward enjoys the rank of presbyter, while in the fourth inscription the caretaker holds the rank of deacon. In the fourth century deacons and presbyters both played a role inside the churches of Antioch during the performance of the liturgy.²³⁵ Here we see that they had administrative roles in addition to their liturgical duties. That presbyters and deacons performed specialized roles at this time is alluded to by John Chrysostom, who complains in a homily of possible Antiochene provenance that bishops now surpass supervisors of estates, stewards and shopkeepers in their administrative worries. Their clergy abandon the prayers, preaching and other sacred duties to spend every day struggling with trading in wine, grain and other merchandise.²³⁶ They have no time for feeding the poor, looking after orphans, widows and strangers, or standing up for those suffering injustice: they are so busy with administering estates and houses.²³⁷ While clearly this is an exaggeration, when coupled with an Antiochene homily in which he indicates that the church needed the properties to fund its social welfare ministries (the care for the poor, widows, orphans, strangers, sick and prisoners he claims they have no time for),²³⁸ it is clear that among the clergy at Antioch, in addition to liturgical duties, there was a range of specialized duties that extended from welfare to commercial enterprises.²³⁹ This is confirmed for the first decades of the sixth century

234. See Part One, pp. 43–44. The phrase refers literally to the clergy who sit next to Meletius (either on the *synthronon* during the liturgy, or during synods or administrative meetings) and so very likely refers to the clergy who are most closely associated with him.

235. See van de Pavert, *Zur Geschichte*, passim.

236. Cf. Severus, *Ep.* 5.11 (Brooks 1, p. 377; trans. Brooks 2, p. 334), where he refers to Antiochene presbyters sent to Alexandria to purchase wheat during a grain shortage in Syria (date c. 383–34).

237. John Chrys., *In Matt. hom.* 85/86 (PG 58, 762).

238. John Chrys., *In 1 Cor. hom.* 21 (PG 61, 179–80; trans. Mayer and Allen, *John Chrysostom*, 174–75).

239. See further Richard Finn, *Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire: Christian Promotion of Practice* (313–450) (Oxford Classical Monographs; Oxford, 2006), pp. 78–79, who discusses a number of directives in the C.Th. concerning tax exemption for the clerical income from shops and workshops intended for the poor.

by Severus. In the latter part of his episcopate (516–18) we learn of a presbyter and steward, Eusebius, and *xenodochos* and presbyter, Victor, both of whom are sent by Severus to Berytus in Phoenicia to discipline the local bishop on Severus' behalf.²⁴⁰ Since at this period a *xenodochos* usually administered a hospice (*xenon* or *xenodocheion*),²⁴¹ it is evident that a variety of clergy could be required by their bishop to serve the interests of the see in addition to their own regular local duties.

The office of custodian, held in the 420s by Akkiba, introduces a role that is more closely connected to the Church of St Babylas. This office, unattested before the fifth century,²⁴² involved acting primarily as the caretaker of a particular church. It is possible that the custodian slept on the premises. It is an individual holding this office at the Church of Casian who was bribed c. 579 when Damian, Sergius and George, the bishops who plotted the consecration of a replacement for the anti-Chalcedonian bishop Paul, required access to the church at night.²⁴³ The office also turns up in the inscription in the mosaic paving of the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria. There Bacchus, who, in addition to being custodian of the building, is also a deacon and church lawyer (ἐκδικος), is said to have been responsible for the new mosaic paving in the eastern part of the church.²⁴⁴ This raises the question of the social standing and private financial status of clergy in the Antiochene church. Mosaic pavements were presumably not cheap to install,²⁴⁵ especially in a church the size of St Babylas where the presbyter Dorys was responsible for the installation of the pavement in three of the church's four substantial arms. Since this duty was performed *ex voto*,²⁴⁶ it is likely that Dorys bore the expense of the installation personally. In the late fourth century

240. Severus, *Ep.* 9.1 (ed. Brooks 1, p. 474; trans. Brooks 2, p. 419). Regarding the letter's date see Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 80.

241. Regarding *xenones/xenodocheia* in Syria at this period, which could be specialised in various ways, see Wendy Mayer, 'Welcoming the Stranger in the Mediterranean East: Syria and Constantinople', *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 5 (2009), pp. 89–106 at pp. 91–97.

242. See PGL (Oxford, 1961), p. 1022 s.v. *παρὰνομήσιος*.

243. John of Ephesus, *HE* 4.41 (Cureton, pp. 268–71).

244. See Part One, Church 5. In Seleucia Pieria (upper city), p. 65.

245. Although the wages of the artisans were low (under Diocletian the wage for a mosaic patternist was set at 60 denarii per day, that of the artisan who laid the tiles according to the template at 50 denarii a day), the number of tiles to be laid could be substantial (an estimated 6,000 per square metre). See Tomasz Waliszewski, 'The Mosaic Epitaphs of the Tell Amarna Church', in Ohan Tunca, Tomasz Waliszewski and Vasiliki Karanikli (eds.), *Tell Amarna in Syria. Colours of Christendom, from the 4th Millennium BC to the 13th Century AD in the Byzantine Mosaics* (Catalogue of the Exhibition, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich, August 30th–October 2nd, 2005; Brussels–Warsaw, 2005), pp. 71–78.

246. See Part One, Babylas, St. Church, Inscription 1, p. 30.

the clergy associated with the churches of Antioch could be independently wealthy. Both Meletius and Flavian were heirs to substantial estates and, despite the requirement by his ascetic devotion of virtual poverty, Flavian retained at least one relatively substantial house that he had inherited.²⁴⁷ We might suppose that when in 625 CE mosaic paving in the east section of the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria was laid through the zeal of Bacchus, this indicates once again that a member of the local clergy financed the installation personally.²⁴⁸ The fact that Bacchus holds three offices simultaneously (deacon, custodian and legal representative of the church) suggests that the range of duties performed by clergy in the patriarchate of Antioch in the third decade of the seventh century was still diverse.

While the correspondence of Severus in the first half of the sixth century necessarily focuses on personnel who directly served the patriarch and administered the affairs of the Antiochene see, rather than the city's churches, some slight detail can be gleaned from his letters and from the occasional homily, that is supplementary to the epigraphic evidence. In 513, it was an archdeacon whose duty it was to mount the church's *cathedra* during Lent to call the faithful to assembly and request them to bring their gifts of linen.²⁴⁹ Elsewhere, in his correspondence, Severus indicates that in a subordinate see the archdeacon Callistus is responsible for carrying the gospel book on his breast during the liturgy. Another member of the clergy carries the eucharistic chalice.²⁵⁰ This is suggestive that the same practice was observed throughout the patriarchate. The role of the archdeacon also involved discipline of the clergy. In a letter to a deacon at Apamea, Severus requests that he discipline a presbyter within the Apamean clergy, indicating that the proper path to do so is via the local stewards (*oikonomoi*) and archdeacon.²⁵¹ Other personnel who played

247. See the discussion in Wendy Mayer, 'Poverty and Generosity towards the Poor in the Time of John Chrysostom', in S. Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* (Holy Cross Studies in Patristic Theology and History 1; Grand Rapids, MI, 2008), pp. 140–58.

248. This was not always the case. In Inscription 5 in the Church of St Babylas (set into the floor of the *pistikon*) the work is simply said to have taken place under Bishop Theodotus. The deacon and presbyter Athanasius and the deacon and caretaker Akkiba (see Part One, p. 42) are unclear who financed the construction of the baptistery suite and its mosaic pavement.

249. Severus, *Hom.* 122 (PO 29/1, p. 104). For the date (18 March 513) see Alpi, *La route royale* 1, p. 193. Alpi situates the homily in the Great Church, but there is no evidence in the *synaxarion* or within the homily itself to support this assertion.

250. Severus, *Ep.* 1.4 (ed. Brooks 1, p. 36; trans. Brooks 2, p. 103). On the administrative functions of archdeacons see further Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 95–96.

roles within the liturgy are described by Severus in a homily delivered on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of his consecration as patriarch. There he outlines a liturgical hierarchy that includes chanters (listed among the lectors), who sing the hymns and the nocturnal office; deacons, who wear a splendid tunic and a linen vestment on their shoulders (symbol of the wings that denote the agility and speed of the angelic hosts whom they serve); and sub-deacons, whose duty it is to light the church's lamps. The latter receive in return a portion of the daily offerings.²⁵² In a letter, Severus refers also to deaconesses, who, in cities (presumably including Antioch), perform the rite of baptism for women.²⁵³ In the same paragraph he makes it clear that deaconesses, though ordained, play no liturgical role otherwise. It is presbyters and male deacons who perform the eucharistic liturgy.²⁵⁴

MORE THAN A PLACE OF WORSHIP

Two of the churches excavated in the 1930s (the Church of St Babylas and the church in the lower city at Seleucia Pieria) show evidence of rooms added in subsequent phases of construction, whose purpose cannot readily be identified. In this section we attempt to answer one final question. What were those rooms most likely used for? What other activities (other, that is, than liturgical) were conducted at church complexes?

In the section on personnel we noted that at Antioch clergy, particularly deacons and presbyters, appear to have performed a number of duties in addition to their liturgical responsibilities. Some of these are commercial, others are more closely tied to the welfare ministries supported by a particular Christian community. In the second decade of the sixth century on two occasions Severus refers to the customary appeal for pieces of linen that is broadcast during Lent.²⁵⁵ The linen is for tending to the sores of lepers or the care of persons suffering from other diseases that cause ulceration. At one point he suggests that men donate

252. Severus, *Hom.* 99 (PO 22/2, pp. 215–16). In a marginal gloss the latter are described as 'the *diaria*', 'the gifts that the clergy receive from the community of the church'.

253. *Ep.* 1.62 (ed. Brooks 1, p. 216; trans. Brooks 2, p. 144).

254. For more detailed discussion of the liturgical ranks of the church in the time of Severus see Alpi, *La route royale* 1, pp. 98–99, who distinguishes between three ranks: presbyters, deacons, lectors; at mid-level: the office of *prothesis*; and at the lower rank: sub-deacons, lectors, and chanters.

255. Severus, *Hom.* 89 (PO 23/1, pp. 100, 114, delivered on 25 March 518). *Hom.* 122 (PO 29/1, pp. 102–22, 25 March 518). Both homilies are preached on a Thursday.

the scarves hanging from their necks with which they wipe their noses and that women offer the linen handkerchiefs that they carry in their hand.²⁵⁶ At another he suggests that men donate a piece of their clothing.²⁵⁷ In reality what is donated is often a dirty and torn-up piece of old, used clothing.²⁵⁸ Since each year the appeal is made publicly in church by the archdeacon,²⁵⁹ it is likely that the collection site was the same church, the audience handing their donations over to members of the clergy as they attended Lenten services. If this is the case, then at least one room at the church in question must have been used during Lent for the storage of the donated linen.²⁶⁰ Similarly in June 513, when on the festival of Leontius the crowd covered with food, jewellery and clothing the cart bearing the relics to the martyrion in Daphne for a stationary synaxis, the clergy will have required space in which to store the donations prior to sale or distribution. Either this took place at the martyrion in Daphne or the clergy brought the donations back into Antioch on the same cart used to convey the relics and stored them in a place used regularly to stockpile such donations. While there is a temptation automatically to assign liturgical purposes to rooms found on either side of the sanctuary, labelling them as *diakonikon* (where the sacred vessels are stored, where clergy robe, etc.) and *prothesis* (where the elements for the eucharist are prepared) or as side chapels, judgement should be reserved, as Decoedres points out that in Syria prior to the mid-seventh century such rooms could have multiple functions.²⁶¹ Substantial space will have been required for the storage of the offerings. This is especially the case when we consider that, as these homilies of Severus suggest, it was as often as not likely to consist of bulky goods as of coin.

Another incident earlier in the history of Antioch may point to the use of ancillary rooms in this way. In 333 it appears that a severe famine occurred in Syria and Cilicia, which drove up the price of grain, contributed to an epidemic and led to the death of a substantial portion of the

256. Severus, *Hom.* 89 (PO 23/1, p. 118). Cf. Severus, *Hom.* 122 (PO 29/1, p. 120).

257. Severus, *Hom.* 122 (PO 29/1, p. 120).

258. Severus, *Hom.* 89 (PO 23/1, pp. 114–15).

259. Severus, *Hom.* 122 (PO 29/1, p. 104).

260. Alan, *Almsgiving*, p. 81, supplies evidence of the storage in a church at Ciria in North Africa of 303 of quantities of clothing, presumably for distribution to the poor, which may be analysed in more detail below.

261. Georges Descoedres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten: eine Untersuchung zur Architektur- und liturgiegeschichtlichen Problemen* (Wiesbaden, 1983), pp. 26–34, 69–70. See also the cautionary remarks of Yannis D. Varalis, 'Prothesis and Diakonikon: Searching for the Original Concept of the Subsidiary Spaces of the Byzantine Sanctuary', in Alexey Levay (ed.), *Hierotopy: Studies in the Making of Sacred Spaces* (Moscow, 2004), pp. 92–94.

population.²⁶² Theophanes, writing in the ninth century, supplies considerably more detail than the *Chronicon* of Jerome, which is nearly contemporary with the event, but it is uncertain to what degree his sources are reliable. In his account villagers in the region of Antioch both covertly and openly looted granaries. He also records that Constantine gave an allowance of grain to the churches to provide for widows, the poor in hostels, and clergy. He attributes to the church of Antioch a grant of 36,000 *modii* of corn.²⁶³ Stathakopoulos believes that the mention of *xenodocheia* that housed the poor is anachronistic and that these do not occur until the reign of Constantius,²⁶⁴ but it is possible that the broad outline of what Theophanes describes has some basis in fact. If the clergy at Antioch were indeed responsible for the distribution of grain during this crisis, it is possible that ancillary rooms in churches were utilized in some way or other for this purpose.

The emergence in the fifth century of the office of *paramonarius* or custodian of an individual church raises the possibility that some ancillary rooms were used for living quarters. If, in addition to acting as janitors and caring for the church's contents, the *paramonarii* Akkiba and Bacchus provided nocturnal security for the Church of St Babylas and the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria respectively,²⁶⁵ then it is possible that at the Church of St Babylas, at least, one or more of the rooms along the eastern side of the south arm constituted the residence of Akkiba and his successors. This may explain in part what appears to have been the supply of flowing water to the church from the nearby Orontes via a pipeline that entered from the south-east.²⁶⁶ The *paramonarius* who unlocked the Church of Cassian for the bishops Damian, Sergius and George in the later sixth century also most likely lived on the premises.²⁶⁷

It is probable that commercial activities were also conducted on or near certain church premises. On martyrs' commemorations and the major liturgical festivals such as Ascension the influx of crowds into the city from the surrounding areas encouraged food stalls and markets.²⁶⁸

262. See Dionysios Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire. A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crisis and Epidemics* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 9) (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 111–17 for sources and analysis. pp. 47–48.

263. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 5824, AD 331/2 (De Thoma, *op. cit.* Mango and Scott, pp. 47–48).

264. Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, p. 111.

265. See the discussion at p. 226 above.

266. See Part One, p. 37.

267. See Part One, Cassian, Church of, p. 32.

268. See Leemans et al., 'Let Us Die', p. 18.

Hints of such activity are found in the homilies of John Chrysostom. Twice he indicates that the audience expected to have lunch in the pleasant surrounds of the martyrium.²⁶⁹ Since they most likely walked to the martyrium in procession,²⁷⁰ which may have made bringing food with them awkward, it is probable that vendors set up stalls around the martyrium to provide a more convenient source of food and capitalize on that practice. The festival of Philogonius, which was held at Antioch on 20 December, gave rise in the late fourth century to a market day, with vendors from the countryside plying wares as diverse as grain, produce, cattle, sheep, clothing and fabric furnishings.²⁷¹ Depending on which church the festival was held in and where the market stalls were set up, some of the commercial activity may have spilled over onto the church premises themselves. In the early sixth century the presence in the Martyrium of St Dometius of votives in the form of engraved gold and silver sheets implies both the manufacture of these items and their sale.²⁷² However, since by the 520–40s other churches associated with healing existed at Antioch (the Church of John the Baptist, the Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian, the Martyrium of the Maccabees, perhaps also the Churches of Michael the Archangel), it is possible that the production of such votives was centralized and that it was only the sale of these items that took place on or near the church premises. The discovery of a tub and drain in the floor of room 13 and a pitched floor with another possible drainage mechanism in room 14 in the south-east angle of the Church of St Babylas suggests that other as yet unidentified activities took place that produced a quantity of waste water. Unfortunately the state of the excavated building makes it difficult to determine whether that activity was religious, domestic or commercial. The addition of rooms, the extensive plumbing and drainage, and the development of a courtyard in the area bracketed by the east and south arms indicate that this became a bustling centre of activity.

Sparse as the evidence is, when we draw all of these possibilities together—the use of churches to store offerings, as centres for welfare distribution, as residences, and the gravitation towards martyria of commercial markets on feast days—it becomes clear that the churches of Antioch were more than worship centres. Such buildings, as in other cities in late antiquity, must always be viewed with a wider lens as foci 'around which religious and social life hovered'.

269. See John Chrys., *Hom. in martyres* (PG 50, 665). In s. Julianum (PG 50, 673).

270. See the discussion at pp. 182–91 above.

271. John Chrys., *De beato Philogonio* (PG 48, 749–50).

272. See Part One, Dometius, St. Martyrium of, p. 68.

POSTSCRIPT

This book is not an end to research on the Christian worship sites of Syrian Antioch, but a beginning. Comprehensive as we have tried to be, there will in the coming years be new archaeological evidence that will emerge and, we hope, additional literary and documentary sources. As we write, the archaeological team led by Hatice Pamir and Gunnar Brands is assembling a new map of the city based on a systematic topographical and geodetic survey completed in 2008 that corrects numerous errors perpetuated by the map in Downey's once magisterial and now much dated *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. It is a quirk of fate that our two projects have been proceeding in parallel and that, due to the proprietary nature of their work, we have been unable to incorporate their scientific findings.

One must nonetheless start somewhere. What we hope to have achieved here is a sound and useful work of reference and a spur to renewed discussion about one aspect of Antioch's rich social and religious history. The simple act of bringing together into the one publication all of the relevant photographs relating to the excavated churches, of reviewing the field notes of the excavators, as well as assembling all of the written sources that we could locate, has already shown the value of such an exercise. The most significant results are a substantially different interpretation of the use and layout of the Church of St Babylas, the raising of questions concerning the assumed continuity of the Great Church following the earthquake of 526 CE, and the redating to the seventh century of the church in the upper city at Seleucia Pieria. In addition, by examining the role of each building, where possible, over a long span of time we have been able to demonstrate how the literary sources can obscure important detail (for example, the intimate association of the three child martyrs with Babylas) or introduce suspect detail (for example, the role of the Church of Cassian in the translation to Antioch of Symeon Stylites the Elder's body), according to their particular agenda. We have also shown the utility on occasion of seeking out evidence of continuity or discontinuity between the period before Umayyad rule and the Byzantine reconquest of Antioch and the city's subsequent history under Frankish rule. This is not a path that we have been able to pursue in depth. It is our hope, however, that a scholar with command of the Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, and Latin sources of that period will

take up the challenge and produce a study that expands and modifies our own. Making sense of the confusing evidence within Arabic sources, for instance, concerning the churches of Antioch between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, would be of service to scholars, as well as engaging in an analysis and resolution of fluctuating labels—e.g., Church of Cassian, Church of St Peter, 'cathedral'—that appear freely in the secondary literature concerning that period.

The ultimate work on this topic that awaits, however, is a study that examines the development of Islamic as well as Christian and Jewish sites of worship within Antioch and its surrounds from the late antique period through to the centuries immediately following the Mamluk takeover of Antioch (from the third to the fifteenth century). An integrated study of this kind can shed light in ways unimagined and trace valuable continuities and discontinuities. The last impression we wish our own survey and analysis to give is that the late antique period has greater value than any other in the history of the city or that the study of Christian places of worship is somehow intrinsically more important than Jewish or Muslim sites or those associated with pre-existing and indigenous religious cults. A study that takes in the churches in the monastic establishments associated with the city and its environs is also required before a survey of this kind is in any way complete.

As we state, then, this book is a beginning, not an end. The analyses we offer in Parts Two and Three are highly speculative and will almost certainly be challenged and the conclusions altered as scholarship progresses. This is a development that we embrace. In the meantime, we hope to have supplied to the world of late-antique scholarship a resource that has been sorely lacking and until now much desired.

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GLOSSARY

- acroterion (sing.)/acroteria (pl.)
an architectural ornament mounted at the apex or outer angles of the pediment
- ad sanctos
burial of a body or bodies in the vicinity of persons revered as holy
- adventus
ceremonial entrance into a city of a victorious emperor
- ambo
a small raised platform situated in the centre of the nave, reached by a short flight of steps
- ambulatory
a walk-way around a large space
- anathema (sing.)/anathemata (pl.)
condemnation called down upon heretics; official excommunication from the church
- anti-Chalcedonian
pertaining to opposition to the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE)
- Apollinarianism
a christology named after its supposed inventor, Apollinaris of Laodicea (d. c. 390), which claimed that the Logos took the place of the soul in Christ
- architrave
the lowermost part of an entablature in classical architecture that rests directly on top of a column
- apse
a vaulted semi-cylindrical space in a church
- baptistery
building or space used for the administration of the baptismal rites
- basilica
a type of church building, the common feature of which is an oblong plan
- bas-relief
a sculpture or similar in low relief
- bema
a large raised platform in the centre of a place of worship
- cardo (maximus)
north-south oriented road in cities and military camps; the centre of economic life
- cathedra
throne or chair reserved for the use of the bishop
- Chalcedonian
pertaining to or adhering to the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE)
- champlevé-relief
a carving or enamelling technique in which the pattern is cut out of the stone/metal to be decorated
- chancel
the choir area of a church; the lattice-work which enclosed it
- chapel
usually a small space in which the liturgy is celebrated
- ciborium (sing.)/ciboria (pl.)
a domed or pyramidal edifice supported by four or six columns
- colonnade
long series of columns joined by their superstructure
- count
Count

<i>comes Orientis</i>	supervisor of Oriens, the diocese incorporating Syria and NE provinces
<i>cubicularius</i>	imperial chamberlain
<i>cupola</i>	a circular or polygonal concave roof
<i>diakonikon</i>	room where the sacred vessels are stored, where clergy robe, and where offerings may be stored
<i>ekdikos</i>	ecclesiastical attorney or legal advocate
<i>entablature</i>	the superstructure carried by columns; usually divided into 3 parts: architrave (the supporting member resting on the columns), frieze (the decorative portion), cornice (crowning and projecting member)
<i>exedra</i> (sing.)/ <i>exedrae</i> (pl.)	a semi-circular recess, usually set into a building's facade (lit. a seat out of doors); sometimes interpreted in Byzantine architecture as a hall
<i>homooian</i>	a modern term designating a group which occupied a middle position between Nicene and Arian Christianity
<i>kynegeion</i>	arena used for spectacles in which wild animals are hunted
<i>magister militum per orientem</i> (MMO)	military commander for the East
<i>martyrium</i>	site of veneration of a martyr or martyrs
<i>narthex</i>	porch at western end of a church
<i>nave</i> (Gr. <i>naos</i>)	main section of a church
<i>Nicene Christianity</i>	adherents of the Council of Nicaea (325 CE)
<i>oeconomus</i>	manager or steward
<i>opus sectile</i>	floor decoration composed of pieces of uneven size
<i>orans</i>	praying figure, standing with outstretched arms
<i>paramonarius</i>	custodian or caretaker of a church
<i>pistikon</i>	of uncertain meaning; a room within a baptistery
<i>portico</i>	suite, adjacent to the room containing the font
<i>praefectus praetorio per orientem</i> (PPO)	formal entry to a church or other building incorporating columns
	in Late Antiquity, the head of civil and judicial administration of the eastern empire
<i>praefectus vigilum</i>	commander of the watch, or chief of police
<i>praetorium</i>	headquarters of the praetor, the police and judiciary
<i>presbytery</i>	official in the late Roman empire
<i>prothesis</i>	place reserved in the church for elders/priests
<i>quatrefoil</i>	room where the elements for the eucharist are prepared
	an ornament consisting of four parts like four leaflets of a flower; a church or martyrion in four parts
<i>revetment</i>	a facing over another material
<i>rincau</i>	an ornamental motif consisting of a continuous and branching scroll elaborated with stylized or other natural forms
<i>silentarius</i>	official charged with maintaining order in the imperial palace

<i>solea</i>	raised section of flooring in front of the sanctuary
<i>stational liturgy</i>	a mobile liturgy led by the bishop and celebrated in different churches or shrines according to the feast day;
	the main liturgy of the city for that day
<i>stylobate</i>	base supporting a row of columns
<i>synaxis</i>	liturgical service
<i>synodicon</i> (sing.)/ <i>synodica</i> (pl.)	letter sent to other bishops on the accession of a bishop's consecration outlining his doctrinal position
<i>synthronon</i> (sing.)/ <i>synthrona</i> (pl.)	tiered semi-circular bench(es) for seating clergy, often with an episcopal <i>cathedra</i> (see above) in the middle of the top tier
<i>tabula ansata</i>	rectangular surface with projections like handles containing an inscription; simply, a decoration
<i>temenos</i>	sacred precinct
<i>tesserae</i>	small blocks used in mosaics
<i>tetraconch</i>	see quatrefoil
<i>tetrapylon</i>	an edifice consisting of four arches around a square, often domed
<i>triclinium</i> (sing.)/ <i>triclinia</i> (pl.)	a suite or suites attached to a church, often for the reception of pilgrims
<i>xenodocheion</i> (sing.)/ <i>xenodocheia</i> (pl.)	a building for the reception of strangers

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TABLE 1
CHRONOLOGY 284-641 CE

The following table is based on Downey, *Antioch*, pp. 735-38; Giorgio Fedalto, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis* 2. *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus* (Padua, 1988), pp. 681-88; Dagron, *Nais- since*, pp. 78-86; De imperatoribus Romanis: An online encyclopedia (www.roman-emperors.org/impindex.htm); Guidoboni *et al.*, *Ancient Earthquakes*; *Roman emperors*; *Famine and Pestilence*. The dates for bishops of Antioch and Stathakopoulos, *Famine and Pestilence*, and the much older Devreesse, recorded by both Fedalto, *Hierarchia*, and the much older Devreesse, *La Patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe* (Études Palestiniennes et Orientales; Paris 1945) are both unreliable in many instances and we have used them with caution.

Emperors / Caesars	Wars / Natural Disasters	Bishops of Antioch
284-305 Diocletian	303? Revolt of Eugenius	(279-80)-303 Cyril (ex.)
297 (298?) L. Domitius Domitianus		
297-98? Aurelius Achilleus		
303? Eugenius		303-13/14 Tyrannus
285-c. 310 Maximianus		
Hercules		
293-306 Constantius I Chlorus		
293-311 Galerius (East)		
305-13 Maximinus Daia (East)		
305-307 Severus II		
306-12 Maxentius		
308-309 L. Domitius Alexander		
308-24 Licinius (East)		c. 314-20 Vitalis
314 (316?) Valens		
324 Martinianus		
306-37 Constantine (sole emperor 324-37)	333 famine and epidemic (Syria and Cilicia, incl. Antioch)	320-4 Philogonius 324/25-330 Eustathius (dep.) 330 Paulinus II 331-2 Eulalius (H) 332-3 Euphronius (H)
333/34 Calocaerus		
337-61 Constantius II (East)	338 Antioch continues to be used as headquarters in war against Persia	333-(43) Flacillus (H) (343) Stephen (H) 344-58 Leontius (H) 358-9 Eudoxius (H, dep.) 359 Annianus (H, ex.)
350-53 Magnentius		
350 Nepotian		
350 Vetranio		
351-54 Gallus caesar	341 earthquake (Antioch)	
355 Silvanus	354 grain shortage at Antioch, prob. due to presence of army (governor killed)	
361-63 Julian	361/62 drought in region of Antioch	360-1, 362-5 Meletius (H, N 2, ex.) 360-76 Euzoius (H) 362-81 Paulinus III (N 1)
363-64 Jovian	362-63 grain shortage, due to army and speculation	
364-75 Valentinian I (West)	365 earthquake with epicentre at Crete and seismic sea-wave	364-75 Valentinus (N 2, ex.) 364-75 Apollinarian (Apollinarian)
372? 74/75 Firmus		

Abbreviata

a-C = anti-Chalcedonian
C = Chalcedonian
dep. = deposed
ex. = exiled
H = homoian
N = Nicene

Councils / Theological Disputes

Martyrdoms / Relics

Other events

		293-96 Galerius frequently resident at Antioch 296-302 Diocletian resident at Antioch on several occasions 305-13 Maximinus frequently resident at Antioch
		restoration of the Palaia under Bishop Vitalis
325 Council of Nicaea		Constantine commissions the building of the Great Church at Antioch
341 synod at Antioch		338-49 Constantius resident on and off in Antioch (administration centred at Antioch) 341 Great Church completed Dec. 360-Aug. 361 Constantius resident in Antioch May 362-March 363 Julian resident in Antioch 27 June-Oct. 363 Jovian resident in Antioch 30 April-30 Oct. 370 winter 371/2-c. April 378 Valens resident at Antioch/Hierapolis
	Juveninus and Maximinus martyred at Antioch Babylas' remains translated from Daphne to cemetery at Antioch	

Emperors / Caesars	Wars / Natural Disasters	Bishops of Antioch
364-78 Valens (East)		376-81 Dorotheus (H)
365-66 Procopius		
366 Marcellus		
367-83 Gratian (West)		
375-82 Valentinian II (West)	winter 384/85 excessive rainfall and crop damage, outbreak of pests	378-81 Meletius (N 2)
378-88 Theodosius I	384-85 famine, bread shortage at Antioch, short-term epidemic	381-404 Flavian (N 2)
383-88 Magnus Maximus		388-92/93 Evagrius (N 1)
384-88 Flavius Victor		
392-94 Eugenius		
395-408 Arcadius (East)		404-14? Porphyrius (N 2)
408-50 Theodosius II (East)	May-June 431 grain shortage or famine at Antioch caused by excessive rainfall	414-24 Alexander (N)
	440s famine in Amuq Valley	424-8 Theodotus
		428-41/42 John
		441/42-50 Domnus II
450-57 Marcian (East)		451-5 Maximus
457-74 Leo I (East)	13-14 Sept. 458 earthquake (Antioch), destroys majority of buildings on the island in the Orontes (said by Evagrius to be the 6th signif. quake since Trajan)	457-8 Basil
		458-9 Acacius
		459-70 Martyrius (C, dep.)
		464-57, 470 Peter the Fuller (a-C)
		Julian 471?-5 (C)
474 Leo II (East)		
474-91 Zeno (East)	474-91 major famine in Syria	475-7 Peter the Fuller (a-C)
475-76 Basiliscus	484 revolt of Illus and Leontius in Antioch	end 476-beg. 477 John Codonatus (a-C)
484-88 Leontius		481 Stephen (C)
		482-4 Calandion (C, ex.)
		485-8 Peter the Fuller (a-C)
491-518 Anastasius	April 501 outbreak of epidemic at Edessa, which spread to Antioch	490-98 Palladius (a-C)
	502-6 war with Persia	498-512 Flavian II (C, dep.)
	507 factional riot and fire	512-18 Severus (a-C, ex.)
518-27 Justin I	20/29 May 526 earthquake and fire (Antioch and Seleucia Pieria, considerable damage)	519-21 Paul (C)
		521-26 Euphrasius (C)
527-63 Justinian I	29 Nov. 528 earthquake (Antioch and Laodicea, damage)	527-45 Ephrem (C)
	532 earthquake (Antioch, but no damage)	545-59 Domnus (C)
	536-37 dust-veil event, with cold summer, crop problems	559-70 Anastasius I (C)
	June 540 Antioch captured and burned by Persians, Daphne and Seleucia raided	558?-61? Sergius Tellensis (a-C)
	542 outbreak of bubonic plague at Antioch	
	9 July 551 earthquake (coast of Phoenicia, with aftershocks at Antioch)	

Councils / Theological Disputes	Martyrdoms / Relics	Other events
381 2nd ecumenical council at Constantinople	relics of Meletius (d. 381) brought to Antioch from Constantinople	387 riots at Antioch, imperial statues destroyed
390/91 synod at Antioch condemning Messalians		379/80? Meletius begins construction of Church of St Babylas
431 Council of Ephesus	relics of Ignatius translated from cemetery to site of the Tychaeum	438 Empress Eudocia has Antioch's city walls enlarged
444 synod at Antioch		
449 Council of Ephesus (Robber Synod)		
451 Council of Chalcedon	459 death of Symeon Stylites the Elder; relics brought to Antioch	
		484 Leontius reigns from Antioch; ousted by Zeno
513 (April/Oct.) synod at Antioch		502-6 Olympic games postponed
		507 circus riots; synagogue at Daphne burned
	529 relics of Marinus recovered, translated to Antioch and deposited in St Julian's	528 in response to earthquake, Antioch is renamed Theopolis
	527-65 body of monk Thomas translated from cemetery in Daphne to Koimetieron and a shrine built there	540-65 major rebuilding campaign under Justinian, focusing on defences and infrastructure
553 3rd ecumenical Council of Constantinople		

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Emperors / Caesars

565-78 Justin II

578-82 Tiberius II (I) Constantine

582-602 Maurice

602-10 Phocas

610-41 Heraclius

611-28 Antioch under Persian control

WENDY MAYER & PAULINE ALLEN

Wars / Natural Disasters

c. 570 earthquake (Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, said to have caused destruction at Antioch)
573 suburbs of Antioch burned by Persians, Seleucia Pieria captured

580/81 earthquake (Antioch, Daphne, with destruction of buildings at Daphne, damage to buildings at Antioch)
580-81 epidemic at Antioch, following locust damage to crops

late Oct. 587/88 earthquake (Antioch, considerable damage)
591-92 fourth outbreak of bubonic plague at Antioch
601-602 earthquake (Cilicia, Syria, with destruction of cities)
601 drought in Syria
602 locust migration and crop damage

602-604 famine in Syria

610 Antioch sacked by Persians

634-35 epidemic in Syria

637/38 Antioch captured by Arabs

Bishops of Antioch

564-81 Paul the Black (a-C)

570-93 Gregory (C)

581-91 Peter of Callinicus (a-C)

591-94 Julian (a-C)

593-98 Anastasius I (C)

598/99-609 Anastasius II (C)

595-631 Athanasius Gamal (a-C)

631-48 John Sedrarun (a-C)

639-49 Macedonius (C)

Councils / Theological Disputes

Martyrdoms / Relics

Other events

TABLE 3

FACTIONAL POSSESSION/USE OF CHURCHES

c. 330-40	Nicene 1	site other than Great Church or Palaia
340-60	homoian multiple factions Nicene 1 Nicene 2	main churches martyria private houses (?) Palaia
360		
361-63	homoian Nicene 2	Great Church Palaia
363-64	Nicene 2	Great Church
364-78	homoian Nicene 1 (Paulinians) Nicene 2 (Meletians)	Great Church, Martyrium at Romanesia small church inside Antioch base of mountains, river bank, <i>campus martius</i>
378-c. 414	Nicene 2 Nicene 1 homoian	Great Church, Church of St Babylas, Martyrium at Romanesia, Palaia, Koimeterion unknown, poss. continued use of previous church/es unknown (in suburbs?)
c. 414-51	Nicene (1 and 2)	Great Church
451-70	Chalcedonian anti-Chalcedonian	majority of churches (?) unknown
470-512	Chalcedonian anti-Chalcedonian	period of volatility in which possession probably switched back and forth frequently
512-18	anti-Chalcedonian both Chalcedonian and anti-Chalcedonian	majority of churches and martyria (under protest by the Chalcedonians) church 'in the new city'

TABLE 2

RELIGIOUS STANCE OF EASTERN EMPERORS (306-638 CE)

306-37	Constantine	Nicene
337-61	Constantius II	homoian
361-63	Julian	neo-pagan
363-64	Jovian	Nicene
364-78	Valens	homoian
378-95	Theodosius I	Nicene
395-408	Arcadius	Nicene
408-50	Theodosius II	Nicene
450-57	Marcian	Chalcedonian
457-74	Leo I	Chalcedonian
474-91	Zeno	promotes moderate view in attempt at mediation
475-76	Basiliscus	anti-Chalcedonian (usurper)
491-518	Anastasius	anti-Chalcedonian sympathizer
518-27	Justin I	Chalcedonian
527-65	Justinian I	Chalcedonian
	Theodora (empress)	anti-Chalcedonian
565-78	Justin II	Chalcedonian, initially patient
578-82	Tiberius II (I) Constantine	Chalcedonian
582-602	Maurice	Chalcedonian
602-10	Phocas	unclear (usurper)
610-41	Heracius	supports monoenergism and monotheletism in attempt at mediation

TABLE 4
CHRONOLOGY OF LOCATIONS
AT WHICH SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH PREACHED

Date	Church	Occasion
18 November 512	Martyrium of St Romanus	repeat of debut sermon
1 January 513	Church of St Ignatius	festival of Sts Basil and Gregory
2/3 February 513	Church of the Theotokos	festival of the Theotokos (?)
22 February 513	Church of Cassian	Friday before Lent
24 February 513	Great Church	first Sunday in Lent
5 April 513	Koimeterion	Good Friday
7 April 513	Great Church	Easter
18 June 513	Martyrium of St Leontius, Daphne	festival of St Leontius
18 November 513	Martyrium of St Romanus	festival of St Romanus
1 January 514	Church of St Ignatius	festival of Sts Basil and Gregory
16 February 514	Baptistery	first Sunday of Lent
18 June 514	Martyrium of St Leontius, Daphne	festival of St Leontius
5 July 514	Martyrium of St Dometius	festival of St Dometius
29 December 514	Church 'in the new city'	repetition of homily delivered in October in Cyrrhus, by request
1 January 515	Church of St Ignatius	festival of Sts Basil and Gregory
2 February 515	Church of the Theotokos	festival of the Theotokos (?)
8 March 515	Baptistery	first Sunday of Lent
1 June 515	Church of Michael the Archangel	translation of relics of Sts Procopius and Phocas
early June 515	Martyrium of St Barlaam	festival of St Barlaam (Barlaam)
21 June 515	site containing relics of St Julian	festival of St Julian
18 November 515	Martyrium of St Romanus	anniversary of consecration
25 December 515	Church of the Theotokos	Christmas
1 January 516	Church of St Ignatius	festival of Sts Basil and Gregory
21 February 516	Baptistery	first Sunday in Lent
24 September 516	Martyrium of pentamartyr Stephen	festival of St Thecla
14 December 516	church containing relics of St Drosis	festival of St Drosis
12 February 517	Baptistery	first Sunday in Lent
3 November 517	Great Church	anniversary of its dedication
14 December 517	church containing relics of St Drosis	festival of St Drosis
14 March 518	Baptistery	first Sunday in Lent

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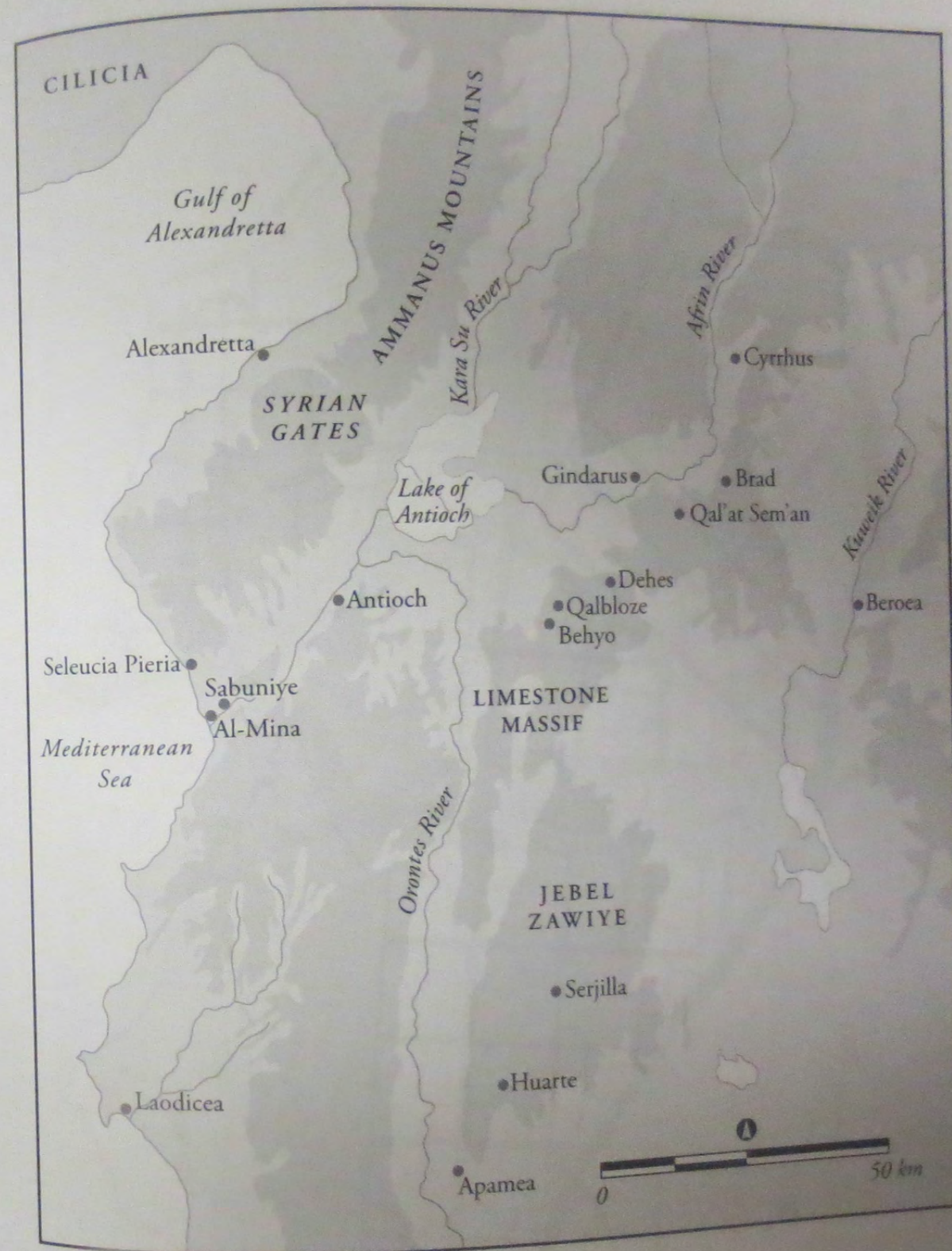
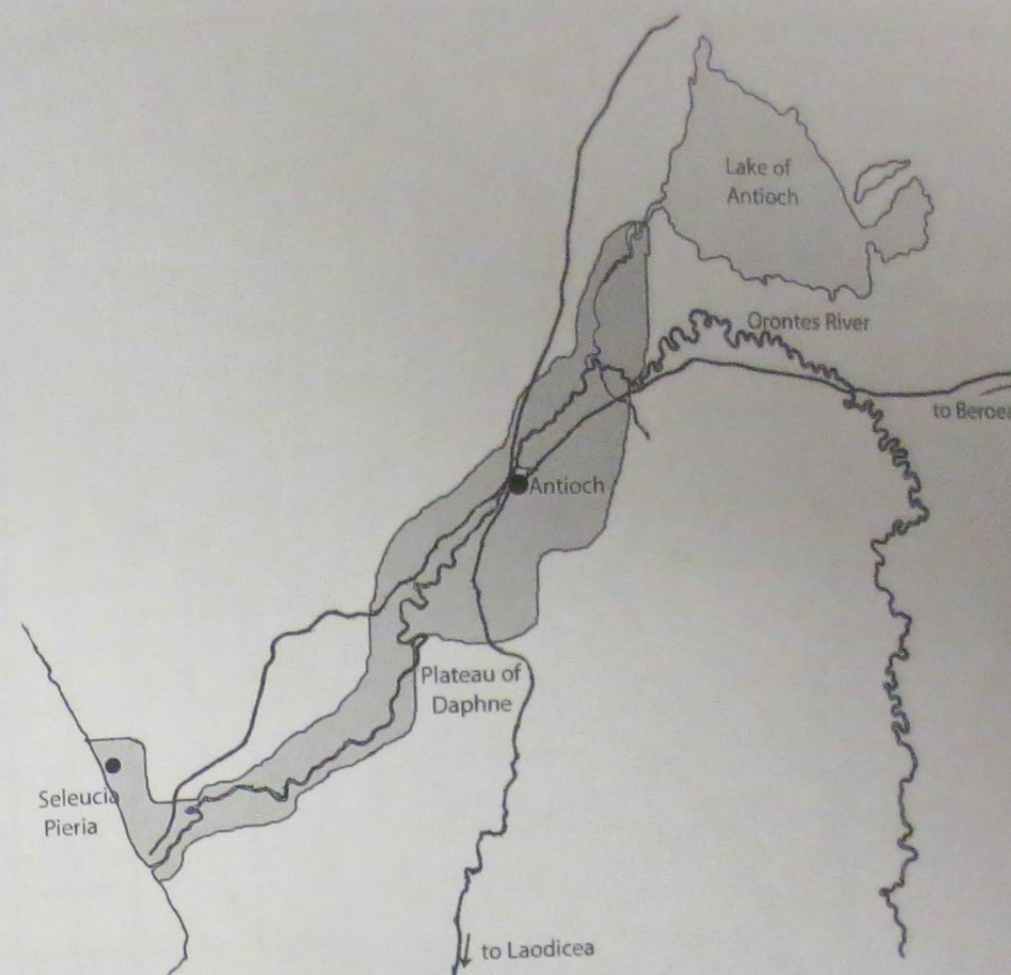


Fig. 1. Map of Amuq Valley and NW Syria



Fig. 2. Map of Antioch

Fig. 3. Conceptual *territorium* of Antioch

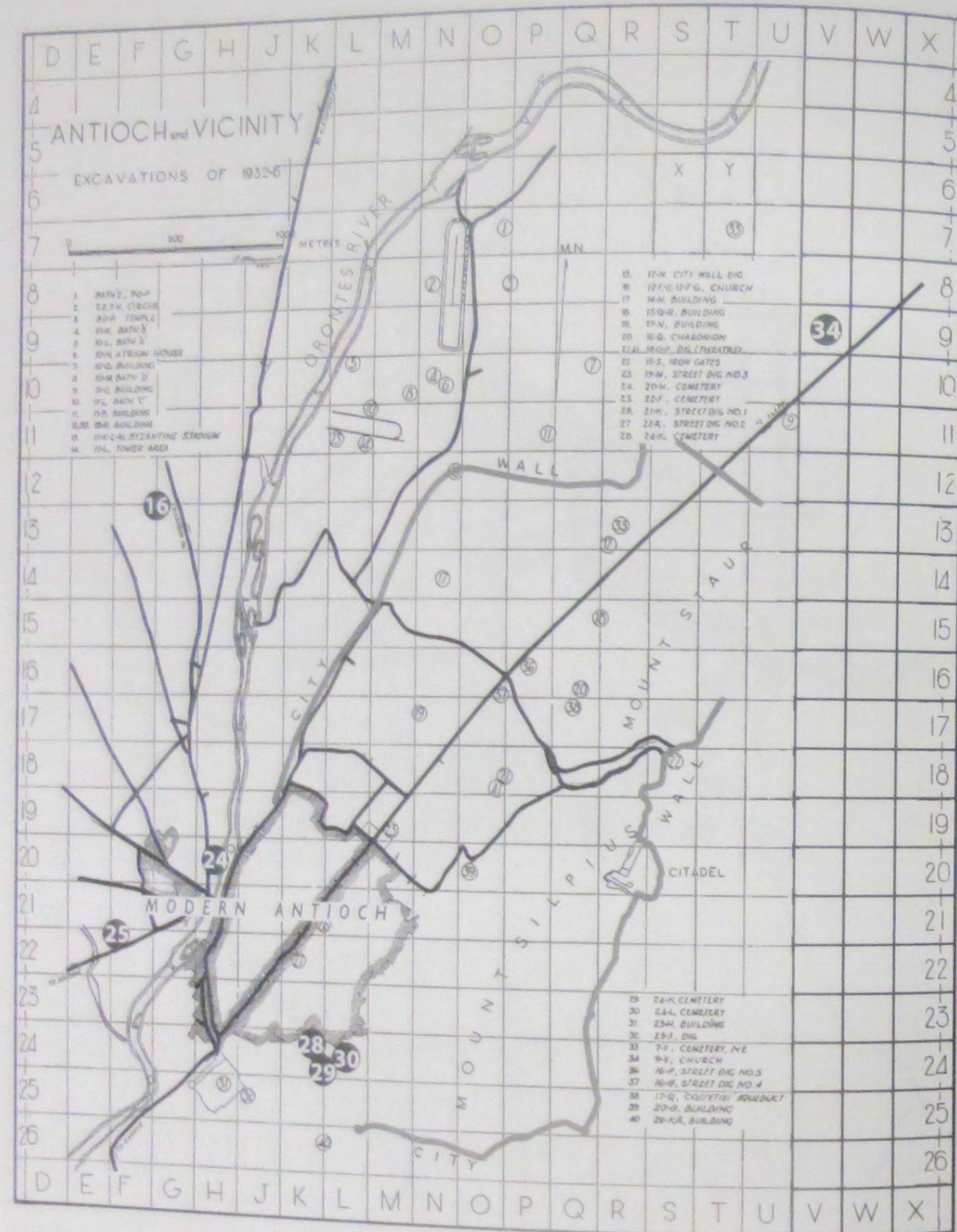


Fig. 4. Location of excavated churches. Antioch.
Key: 16. Church at Qausiyeh; 24-25. Cemetery;
28-30. Cemetery; 34. Church at Machouka

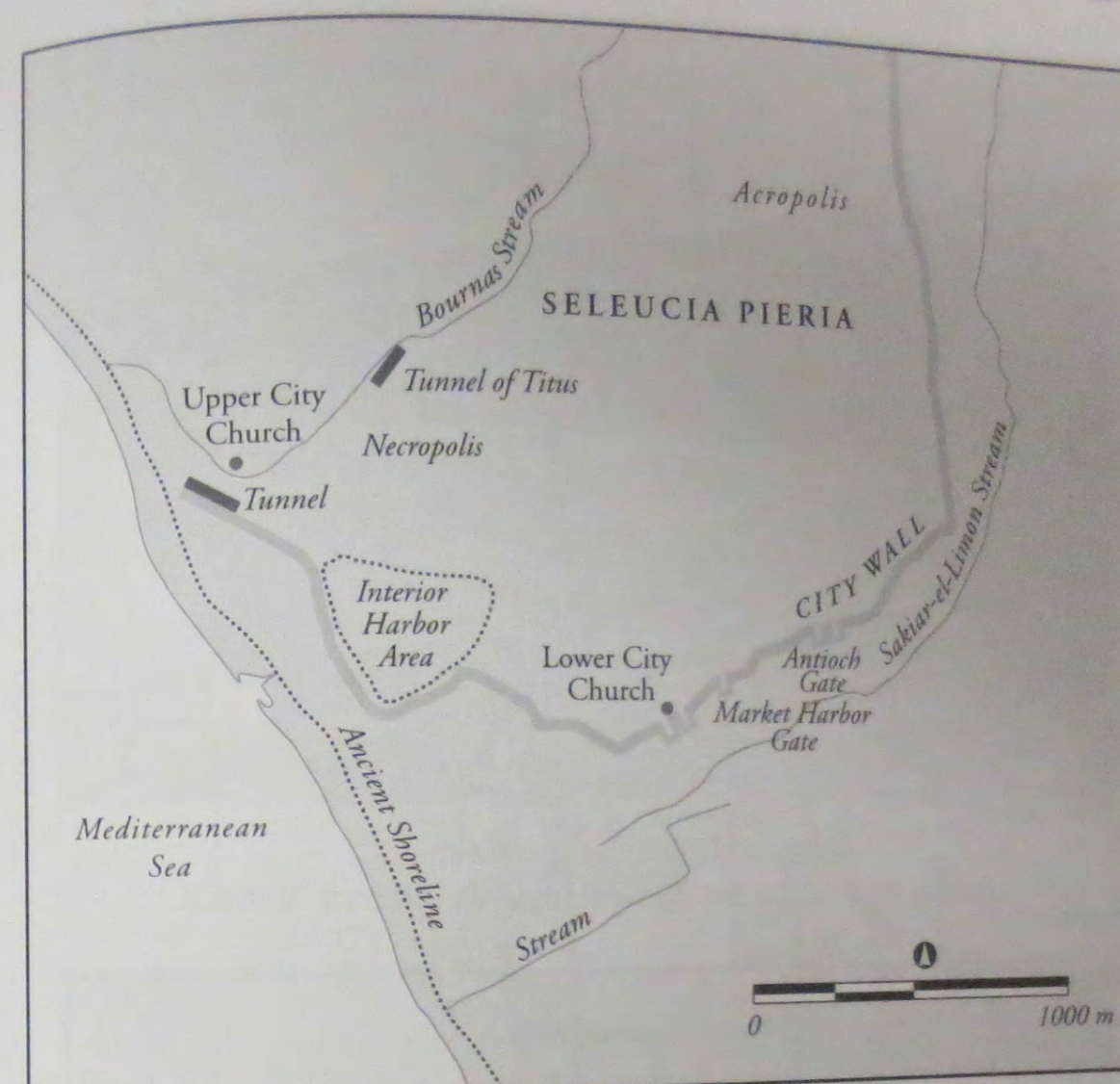


Fig. 5. Location of excavated churches. Seleucia Pieria



Fig. 6. Panel of topographical border. Mosaic of Megalopsychia



Fig. 7. Church at Qausīyeh.
General view of the site looking towards modern Antioch

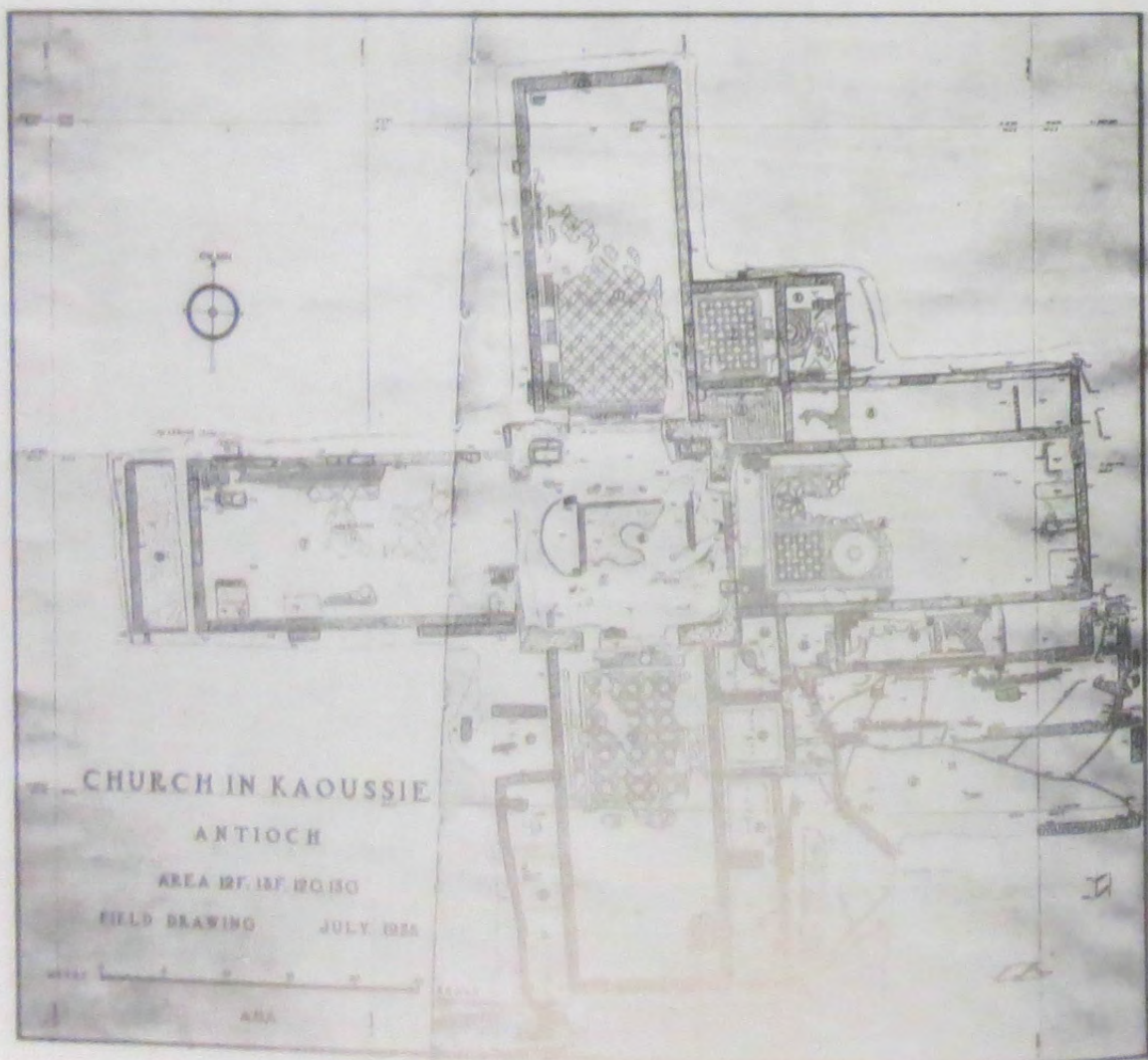


Fig. 8. Church at Qausīyeh.
Field plan, showing mosaics, tombs, and ruins

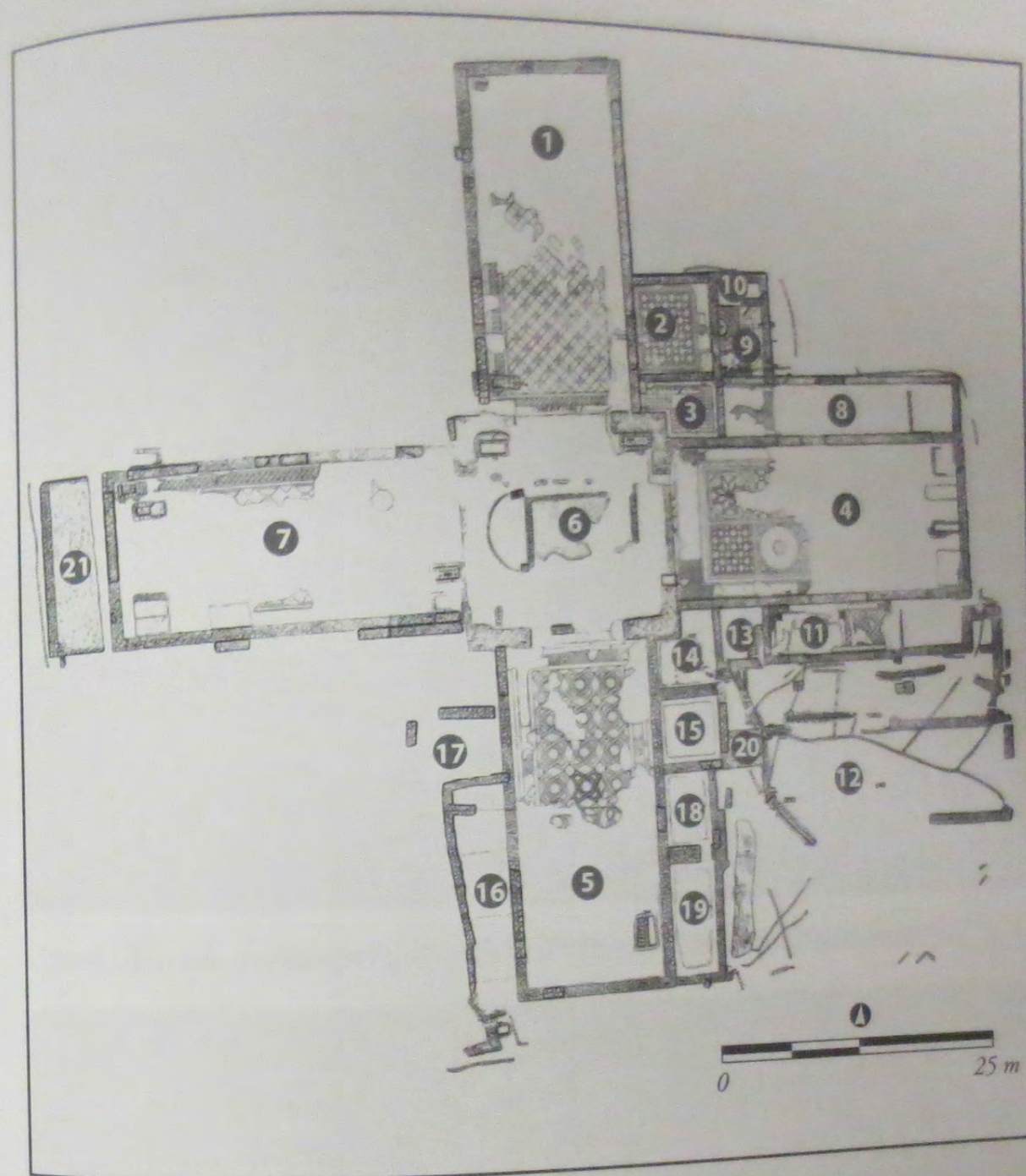


Fig. 9. Church at Qausīyeh. Distribution of rooms
Key: 1. North arm; 2-3. Baptistery suite; 4. East arm; 5. South arm;
6. Central chamber; 7. West arm; 8. Room bracketing east arm (north);
9-10. Baptistery suite; 11. Room bracketing east arm and courtyard (south);
12. Courtyard; 13-15. Rooms facing courtyard; 16. Portico (?), south arm
(to west); 17. Uncertain; 18-19. Rooms facing courtyard; 20. Room/water tank;
21. Portico, west arm



Fig. 10. Church at Qausiye. General view showing baptistery area. To south

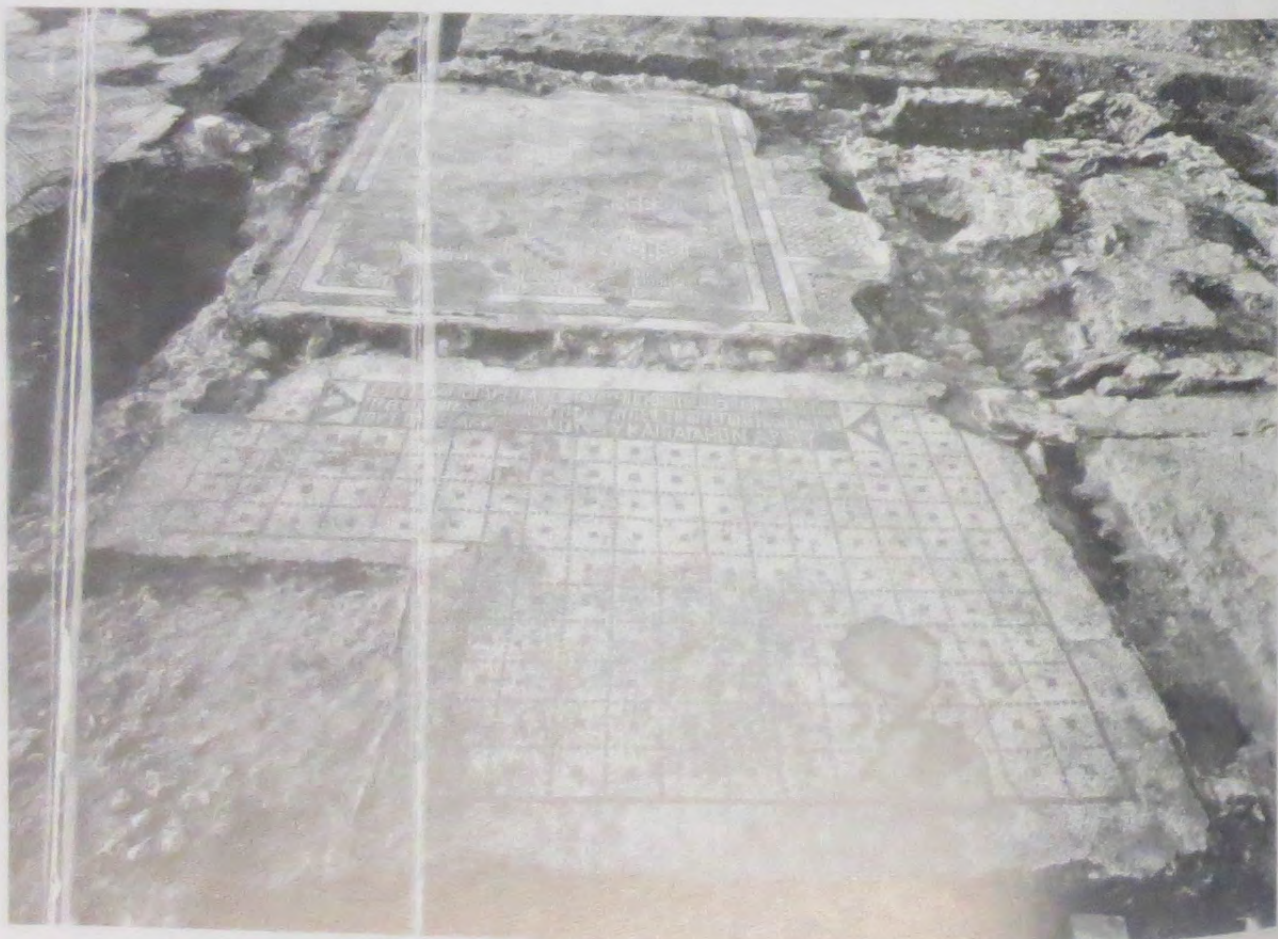


Fig. 11. Church at Qausiye. View of mosaic floor in the pistikon and baptistery. To north



Fig. 12. Church at Qausiye. View into rooms 13 & 14. To west



Fig. 13. Church at Qausiye. View into rooms 13 & 14. To NW



Fig. 14. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 8 from the pistikon. To east



Fig. 15. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 11. To east



Fig. 16. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 16 with *opus sectile* floor. To north



Fig. 17. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the excavation. To NW. SE courtyard and rooms 14-15 and 18-19



Fig. 18. Church at Qausiyeh. Room 21. To north



Fig. 19. Church at Qausiyeh. General view across room 6, the central room, with inscription 4 in foreground. To north



Fig. 20. Church at Qausiyeh. View of room 6, with platform and apse. To west

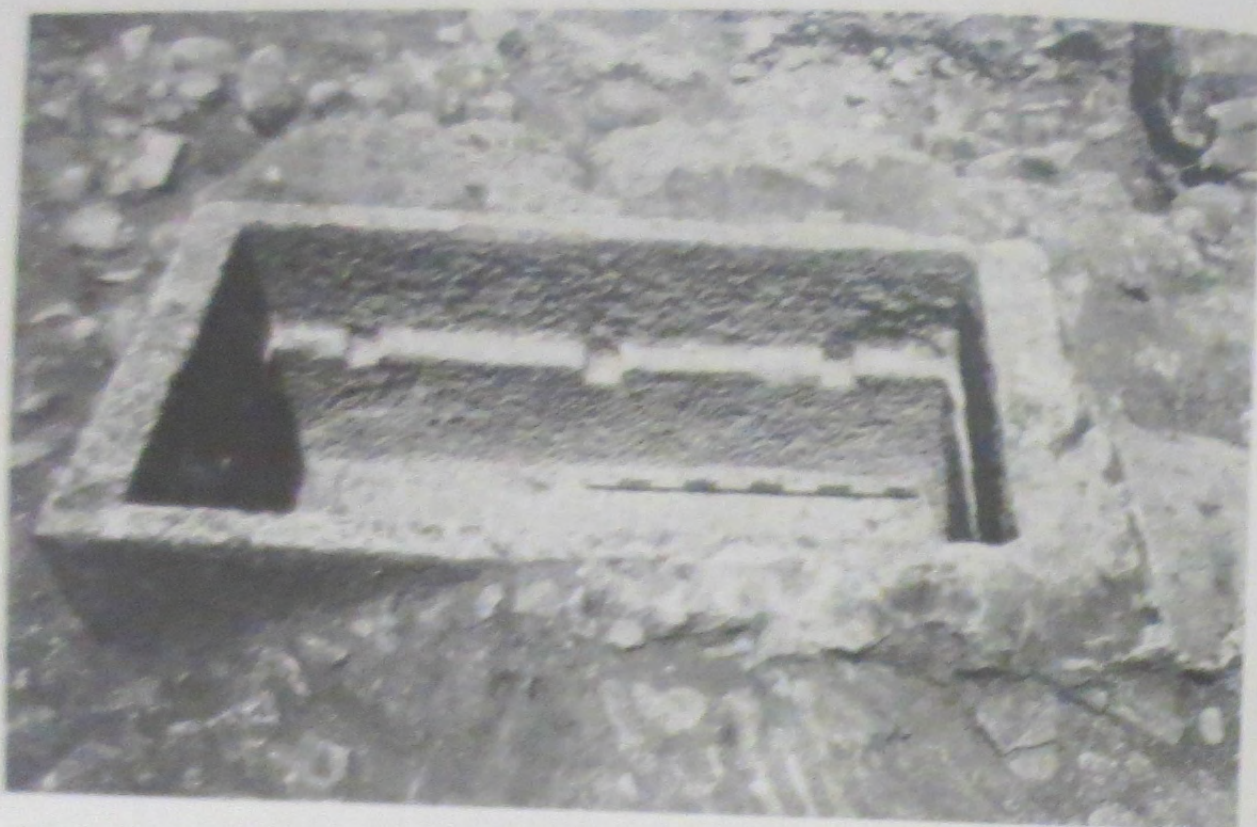


Fig. 21. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of sarcophagus in NW corner of room 6.
To north



Fig. 22. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of brick tomb in SE corner of room 6,
with inscription 1 at rear right. To west

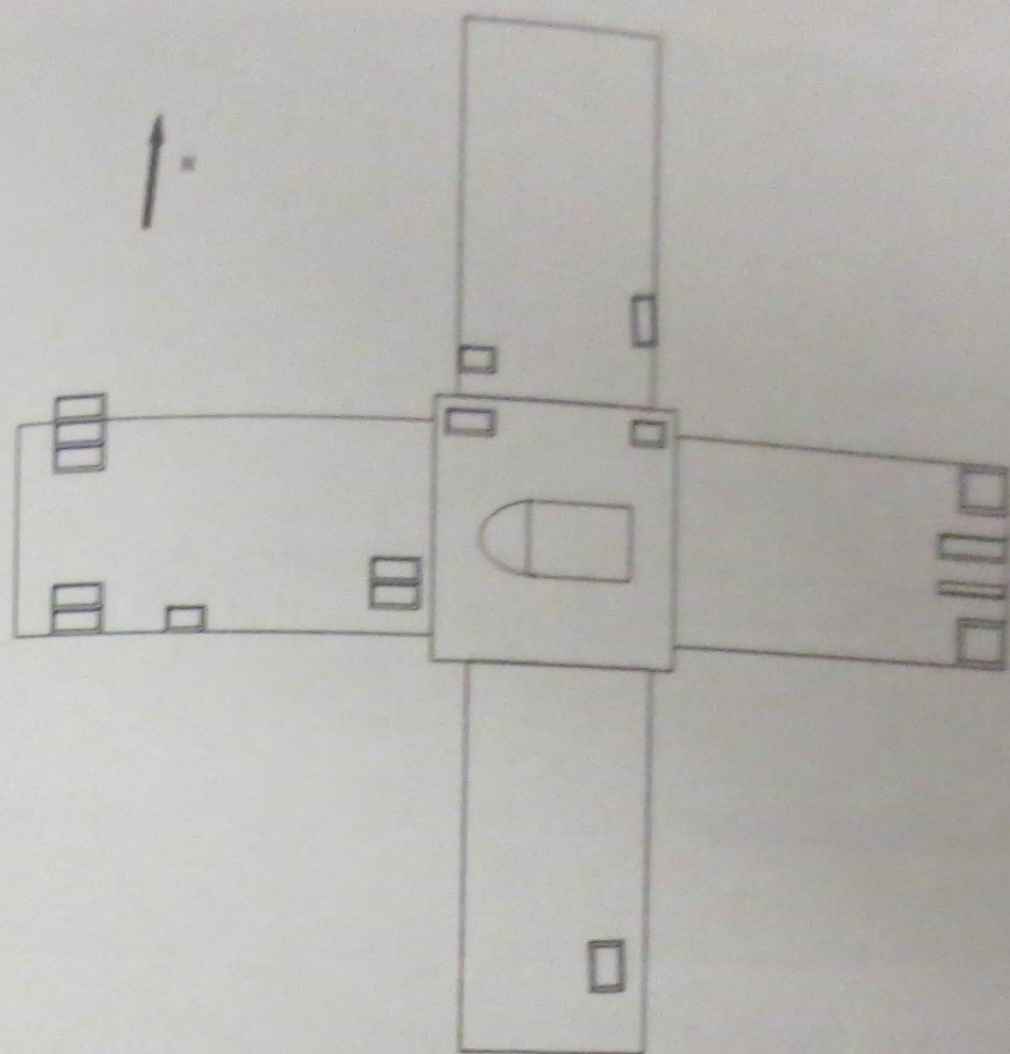


Fig. 23. Church at Qausiyeh. Distribution of tombs



Fig. 24. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of tomb in room 1 with inscription 1 at
top right. To east



Fig. 25. Church at Qausiyeh. Tombs in west end of room 7



Fig. 26. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of double tomb in room 5. To north



Fig. 27. Church at Qausiyeh. General view along east end of east arm.
To south

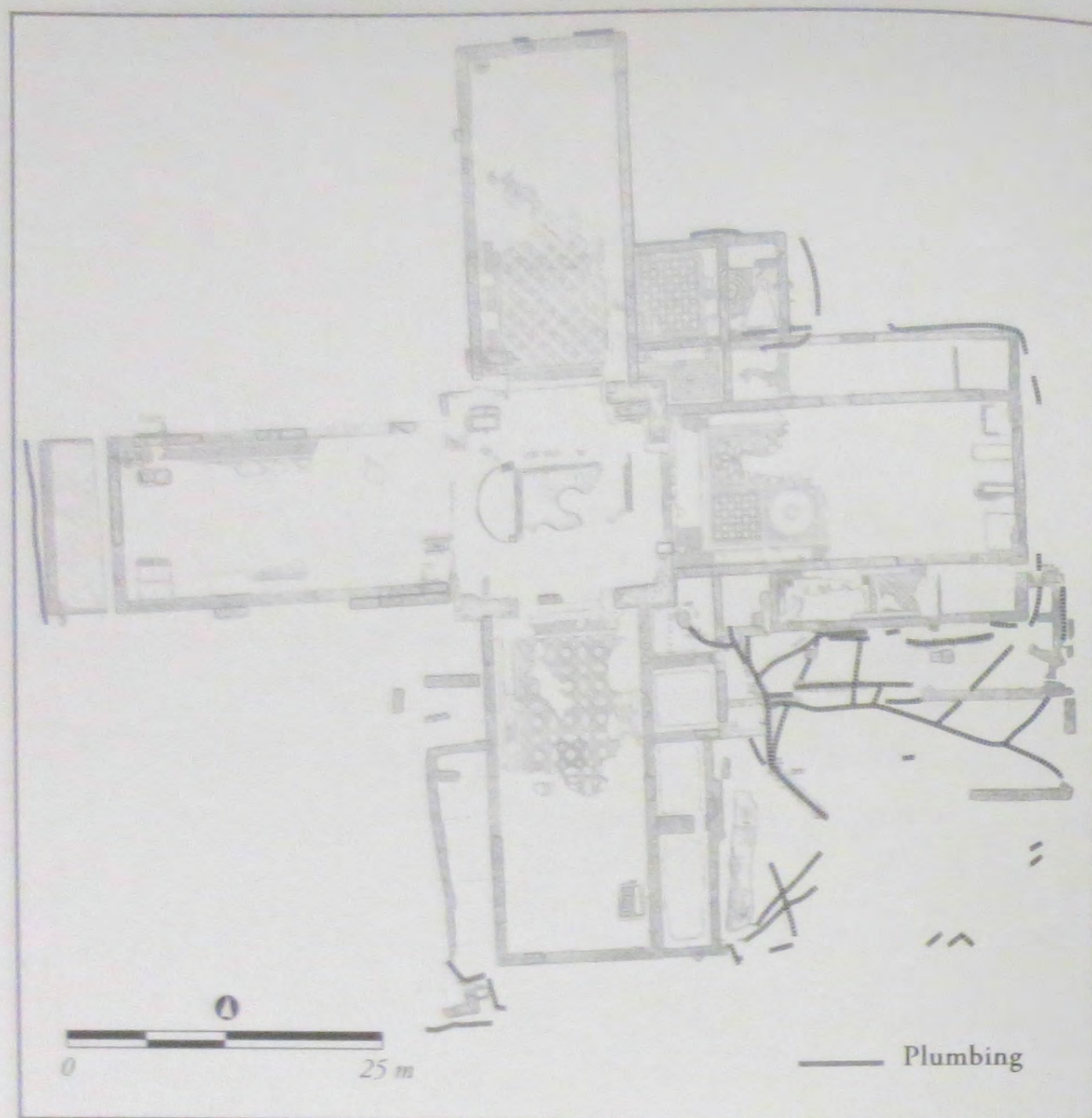


Fig. 28. Church at Qausiyeh. Distribution of plumbing



Fig. 29. Church at Qausiyeh. View into rooms 9 and 10, apse of the baptistery and dependencies. To east



Fig. 30. Church at Qausiyeh. General view across courtyard, showing pipes. To NW



Fig. 31. Church at Qausiyeh. General view across additions in the south-east angle of the church. To SE



Fig. 32. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of pavement and walls in courtyard. To NW

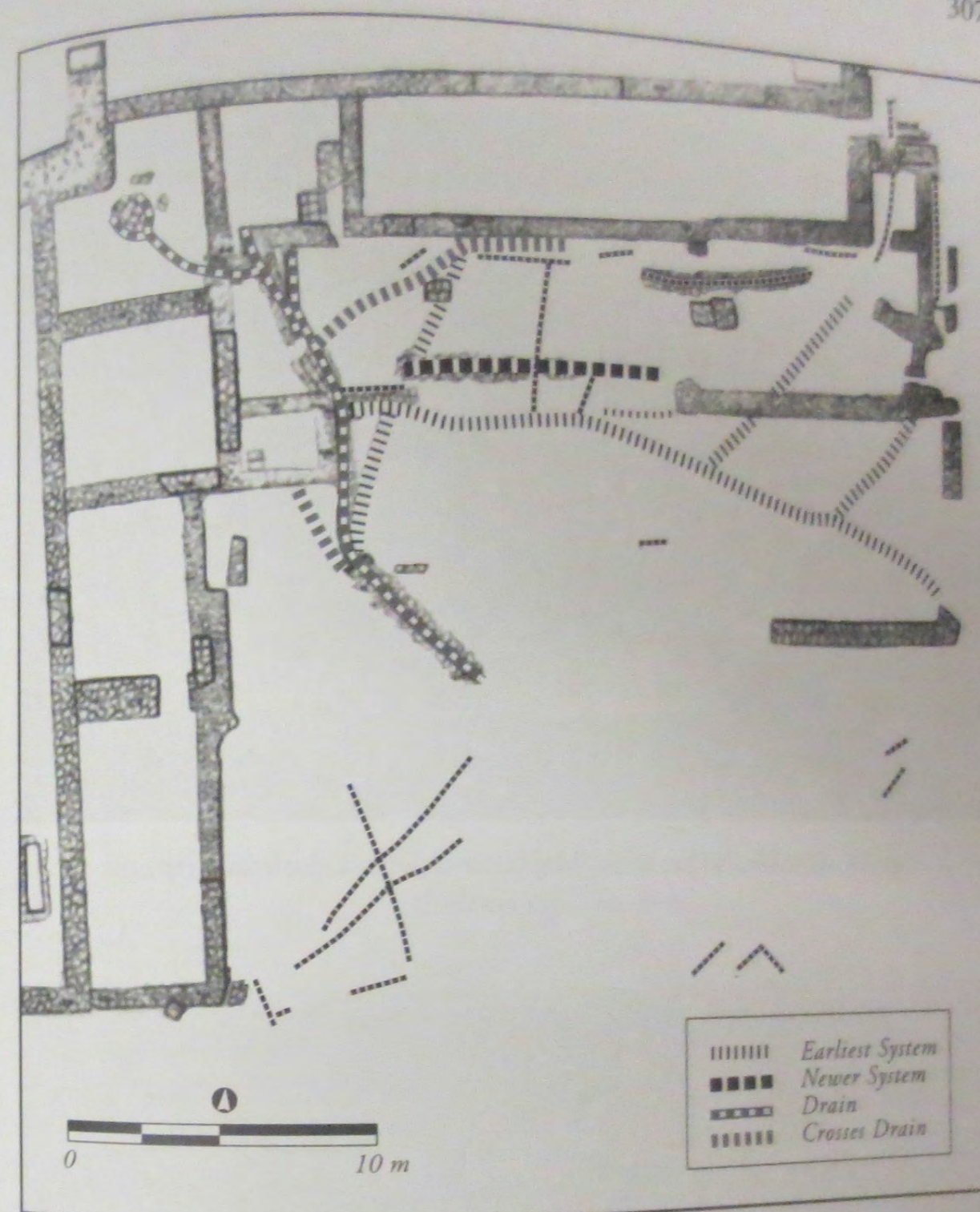


Fig. 33. Church at Qausiyeh. Phases of plumbing in courtyard. Based on Lassus' field notes

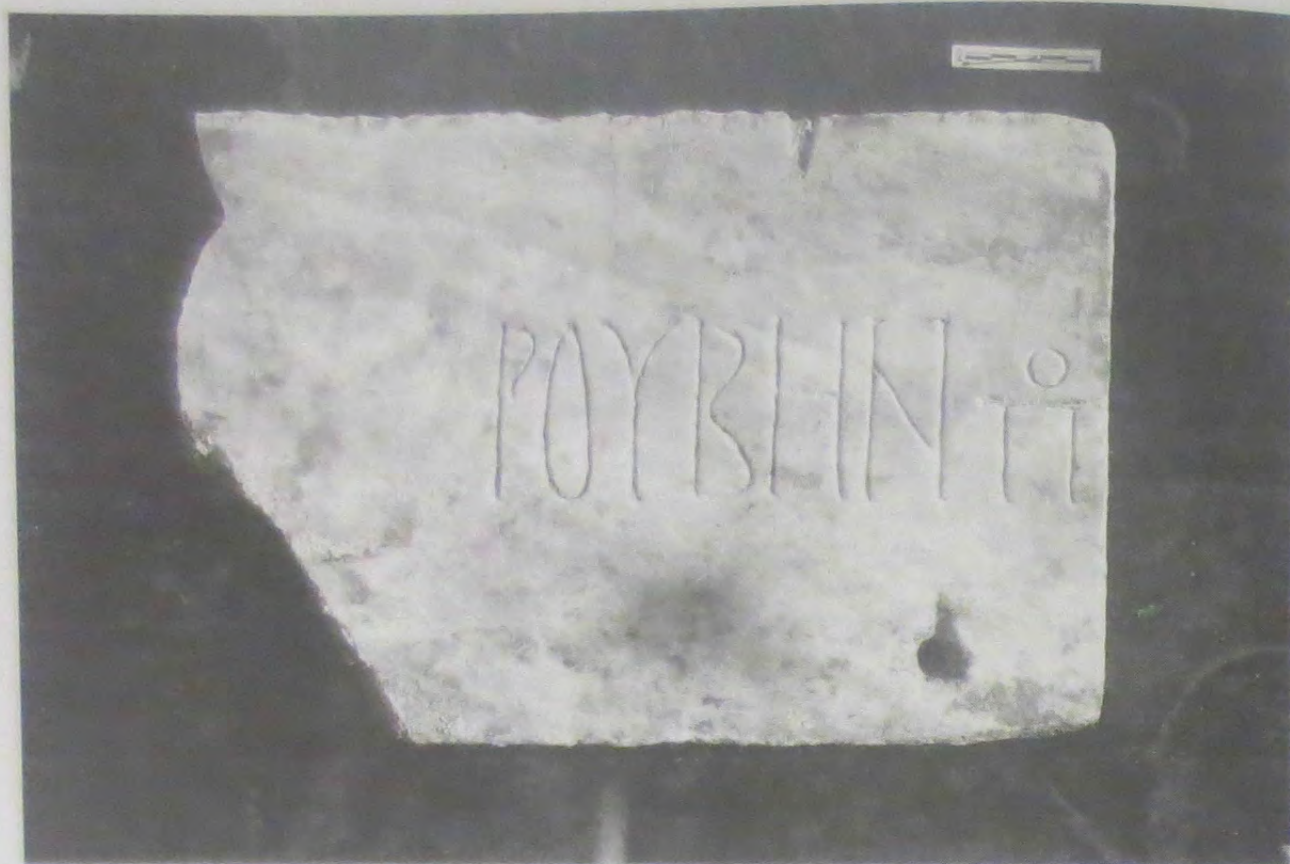


Fig. 34. Church at Qausiyeh. Marble slab with Greek inscription



Fig. 35. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 1, the north arm, with inscription 1 at the end. To south



Fig. 36. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 4, the east arm. To west



Fig. 37. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 5, the south arm, with inscription 4 in background. To north

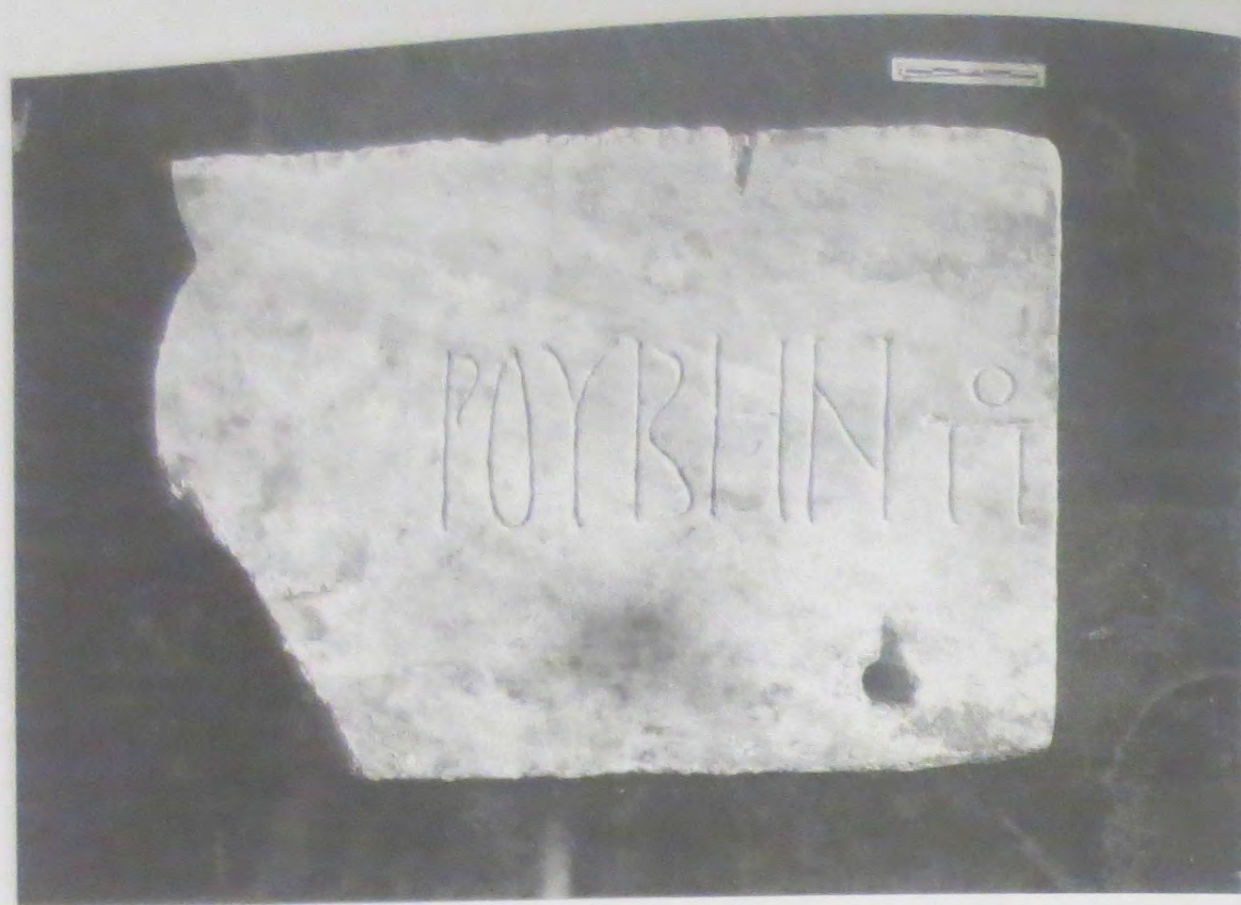


Fig. 34. Church at Qausiyeh. Marble slab with Greek inscription



Fig. 35. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 1, the north arm, with inscription 1 at the end of the south



Fig. 36. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 4, the east arm. To west



Fig. 37. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 5, the south arm, with inscription 4 in background. To north



Fig. 38. Church at Qausiyeh. View of the mosaic floor in room 7, the west arm, with inscription 3 at centre. To east



Fig. 39. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic floor in room 6. Border of room 6 floor with inscription 3 at west



Fig. 40. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic inscription 1. To south



Fig. 41. Church at Qausiyeh. View of mosaic inscription 2, sections 1 and 2, in room 1. To west

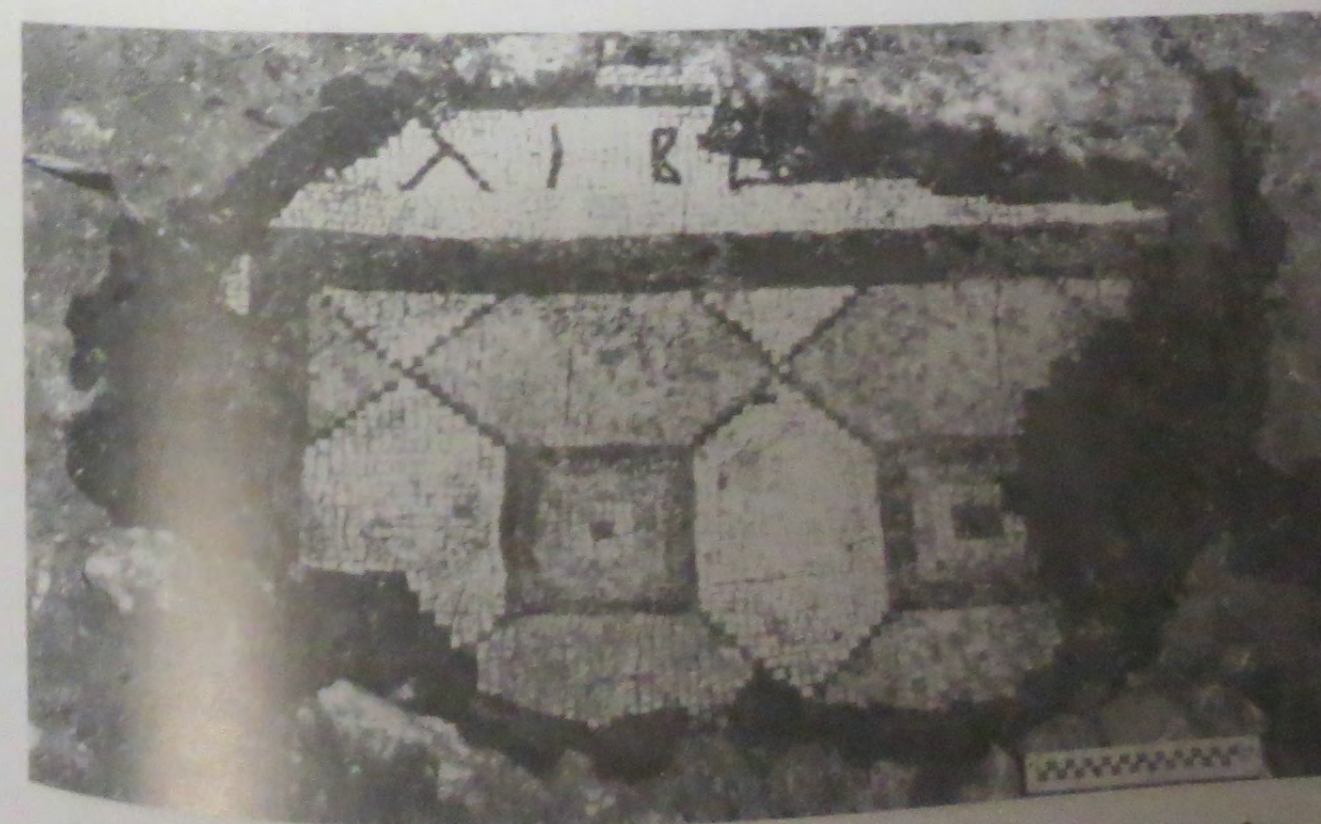


Fig. 42. Church at Qausiyeh. View of mosaic inscription 2, section 3, in room 1. To west

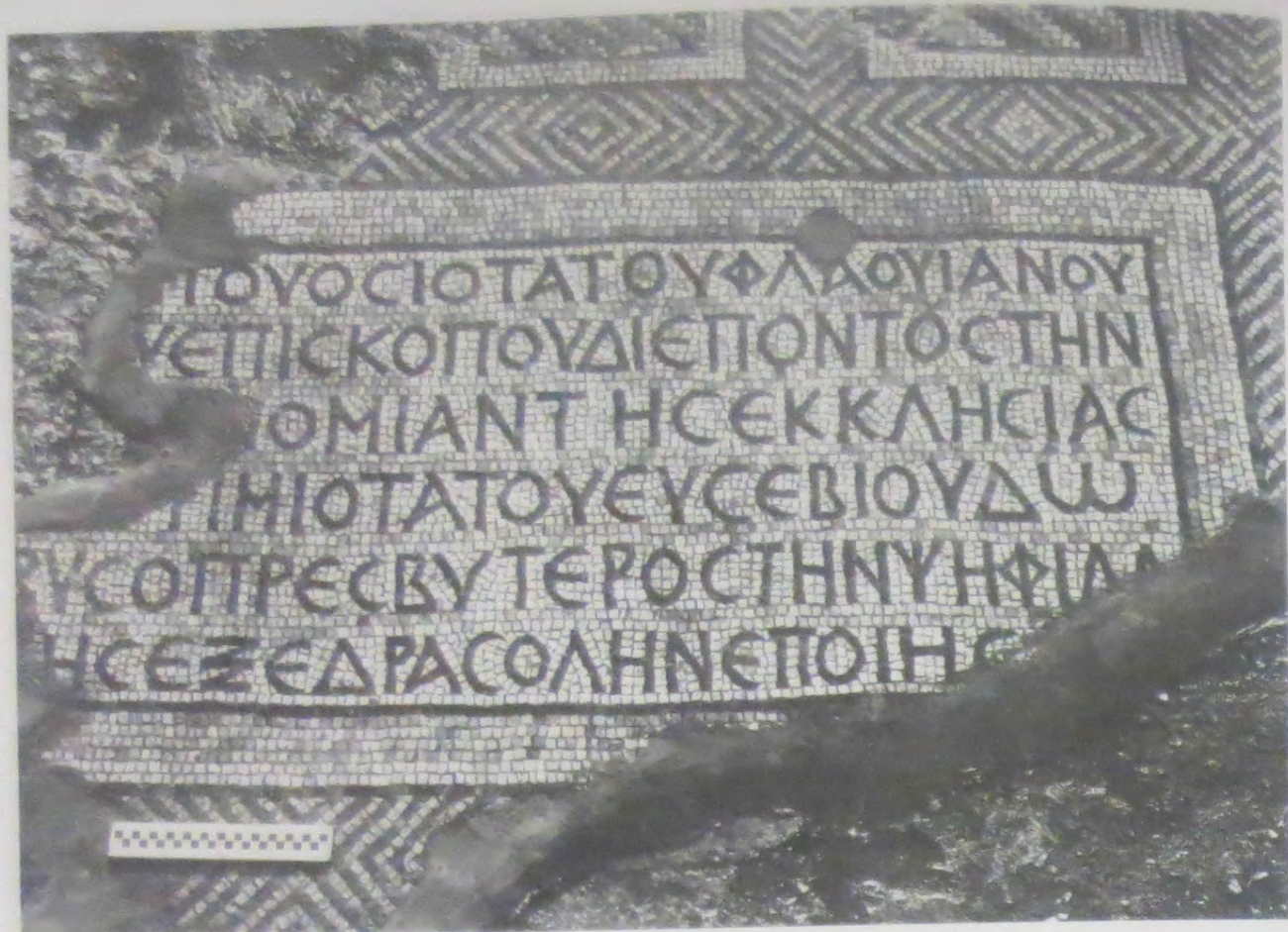


Fig. 43. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic inscription 3 in room 7.
To west

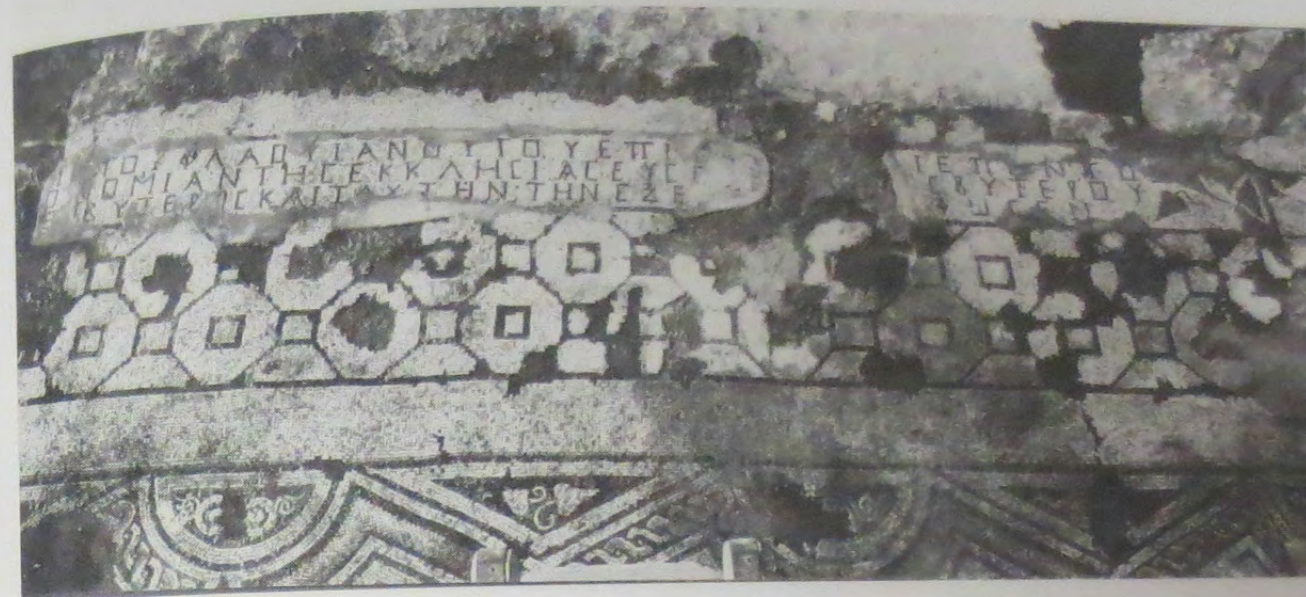


Fig. 44. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of left and right halves of mosaic inscription 4 in room 5

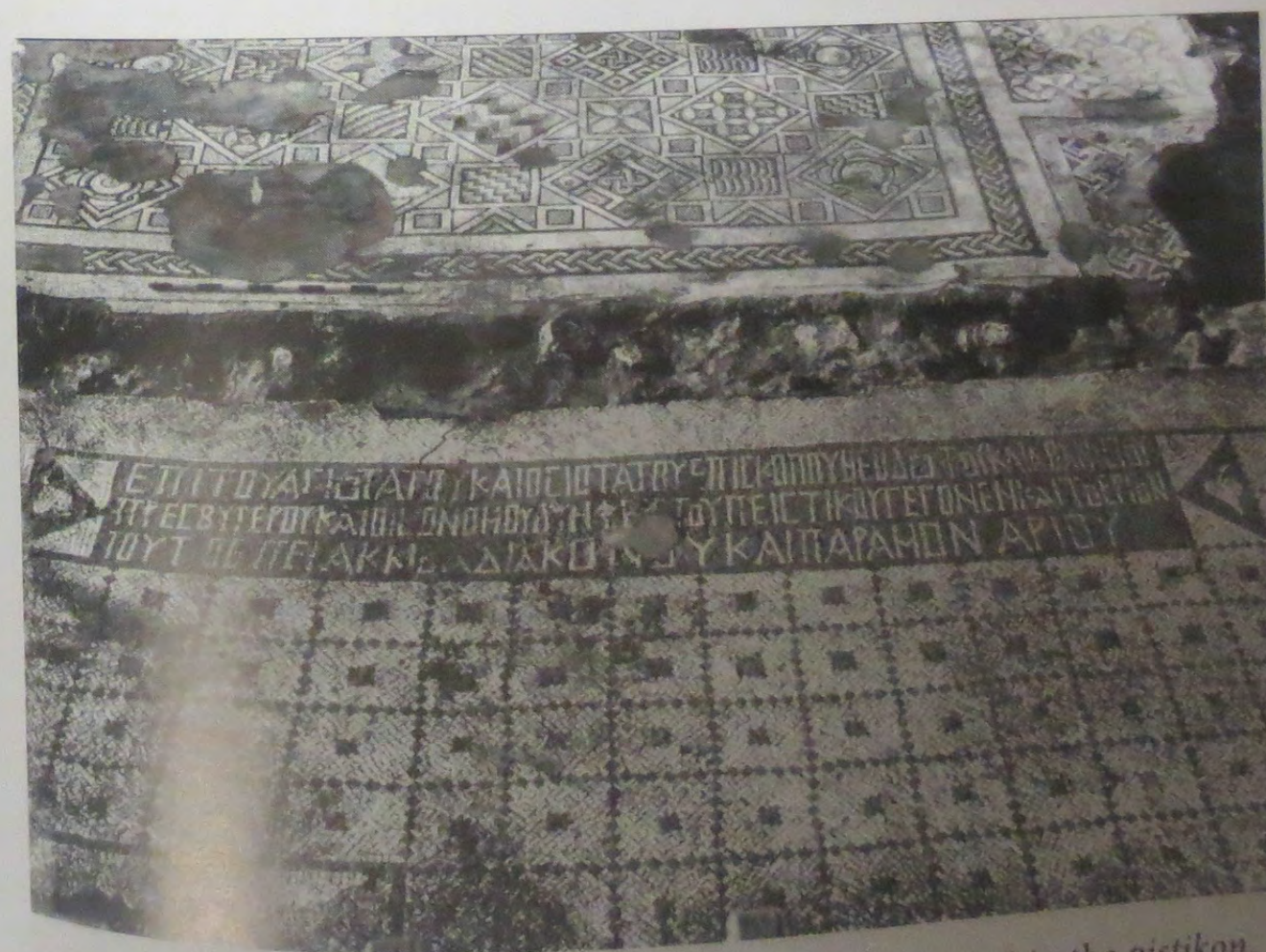


Fig. 45. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of mosaic inscription 5 in the pistikon.
To north



Fig. 46. Church at Qausiyeh. Part of Byzantine bronze cross



Fig. 47. Church at Qausiyeh. Excavation of the church arm (room 4). To west



Fig. 48. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To SE



Fig. 49. Church at Qausiyeh. General view of the excavation. To NW



Fig. 50. Church at Qausīyeh. General view of the excavation. To SW



Fig. 51. Church at Qausīyeh. General view of the excavation. To west



Fig. 52. Church at Qausīyeh. General view of the excavation. To south



Fig. 53. Church at Qausīyeh. Detail of south wall of room 6. To west



Fig. 54. Church at Qausiyeh. South end of room 16 with Trench 6 in background. To west



Fig. 55. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of corner in angle of east nave. To NW



Fig. 56. Church at Qausiyeh. Detail of tomb outside west wall of room 1.



Fig. 57. Church at Qaustych. Detail of masonry and late wall in Trench 1.



Fig. 58. Site of modern Habib Neccar mosque

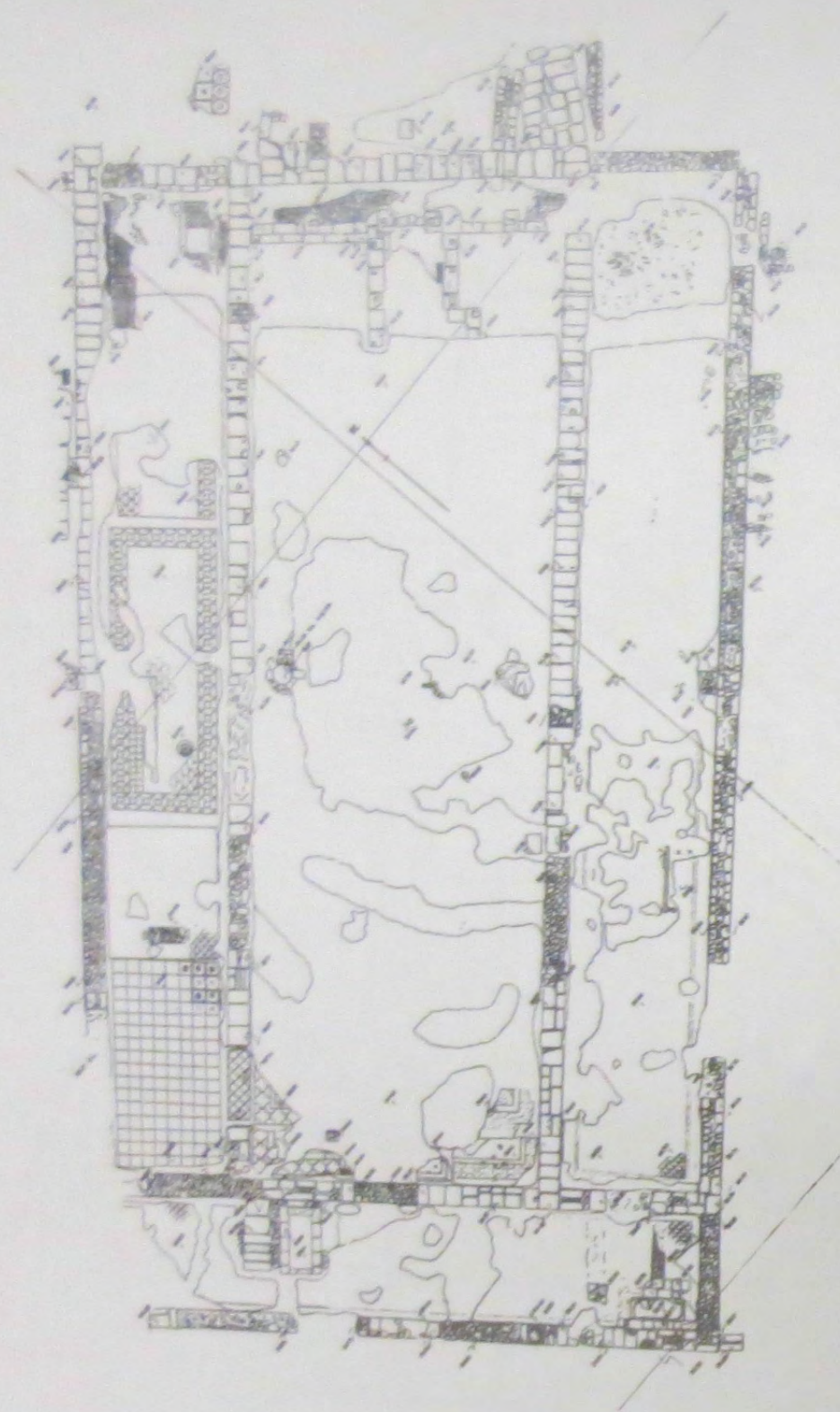


Fig. 59. Church at Machouka. Field plan, showing mosaics and *opus sectile* floors



Fig. 60. Church at Machouka. General view of excavated site



Fig. 61. Church at Machouka. View of narthex



Fig. 62. Church at Machouka. View of the south aisle

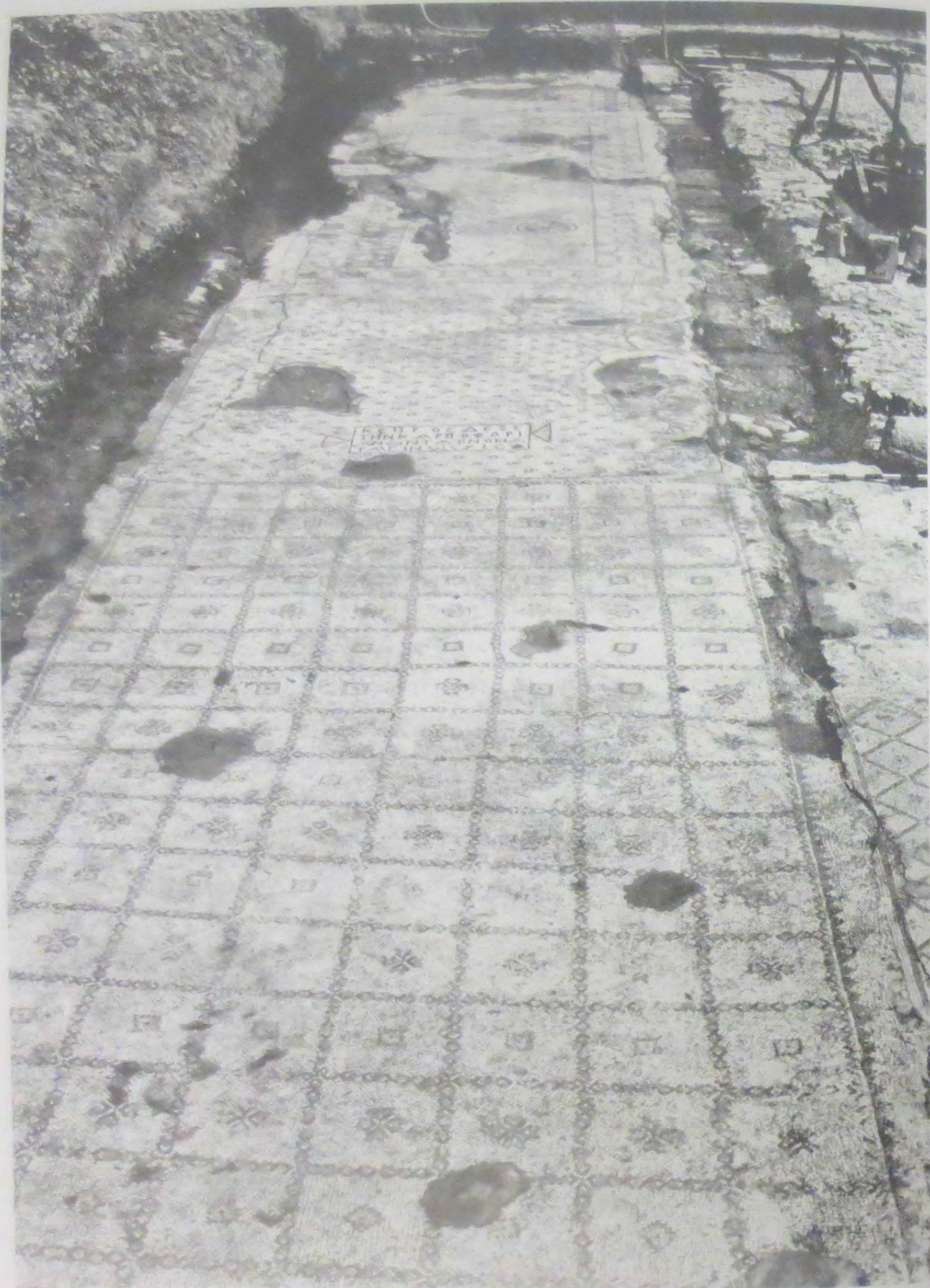


Fig. 63. Church at Machouka. View of the north aisle



Fig. 64. Church at Machouka. View of the nave, looking from the apse



Fig. 65. Church at Machouka. Detail of the steps to the bema



Fig. 66. Church at Machouka. Column base *in situ* in the narthex



Fig. 67. Church at Machouka. Detail of fallen column base in the south aisle



Fig. 68. Church at Machouka. View across north end of church from the north aisle



Fig. 69. Church at Machouka. View of the bema and apse, looking from the nave



Fig. 70. Church at Machouka. View across north end of church



Fig. 71. Church at Machouka. Detail of ruins in north end of narthex

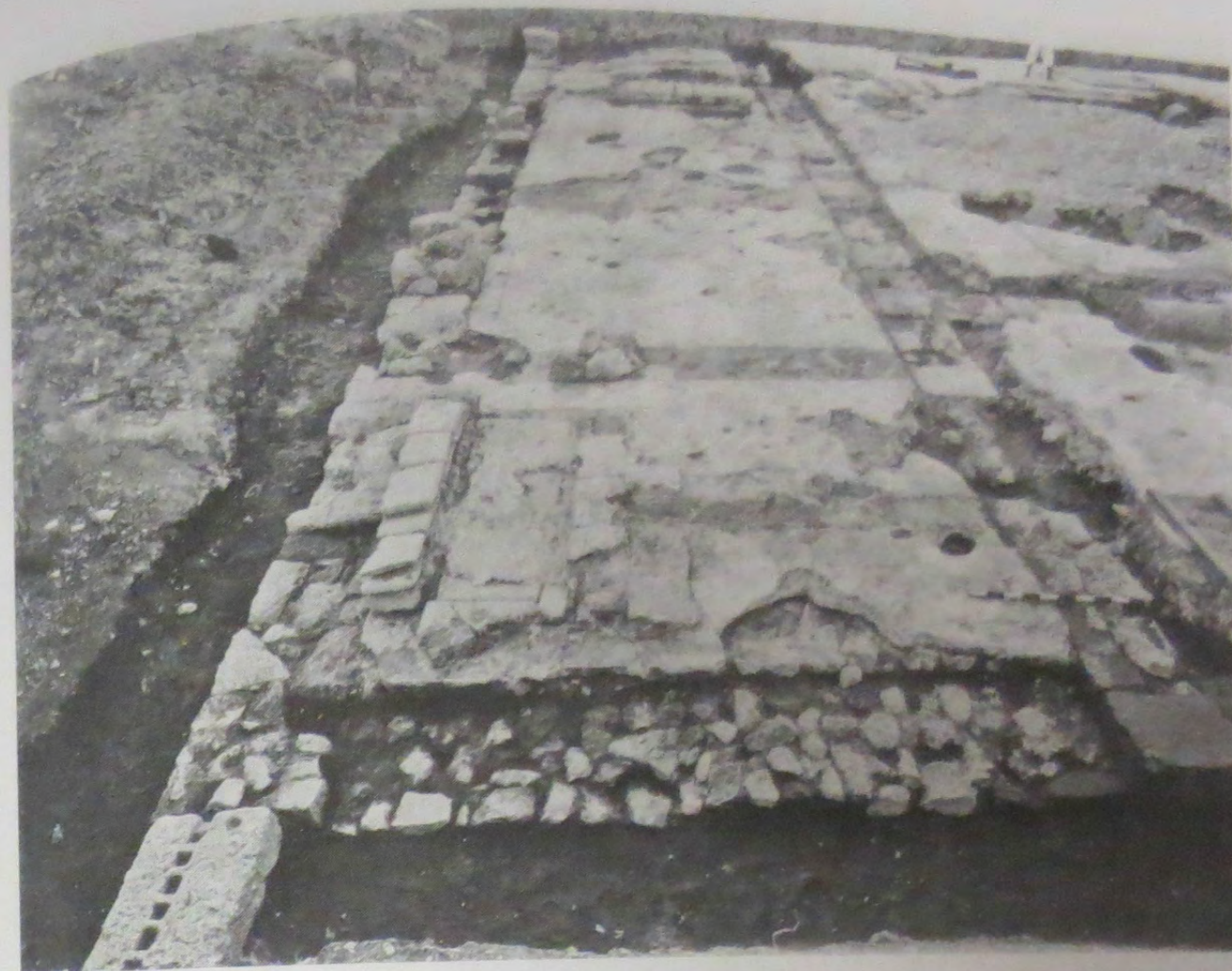


Fig. 72. Church at Machouka. View of the narthex, from south, showing single tomb



Fig. 73. Church at Machouka. Detail of well in the nave



Fig. 74. Church at Machouka. Detail of the south end of north aisle and nave showing mosaic floors



Fig. 75. Church at Machouka. Detail of mosaic in NW corner of nave, with tombs in the narthex in background



Fig. 76. Church at Machouka. Detail of mosaic in SW corner of nave, with the narthex in background



Fig. 77. Church at Machouka. Detail of the north end of the north aisle, showing marble pavement from a lower level

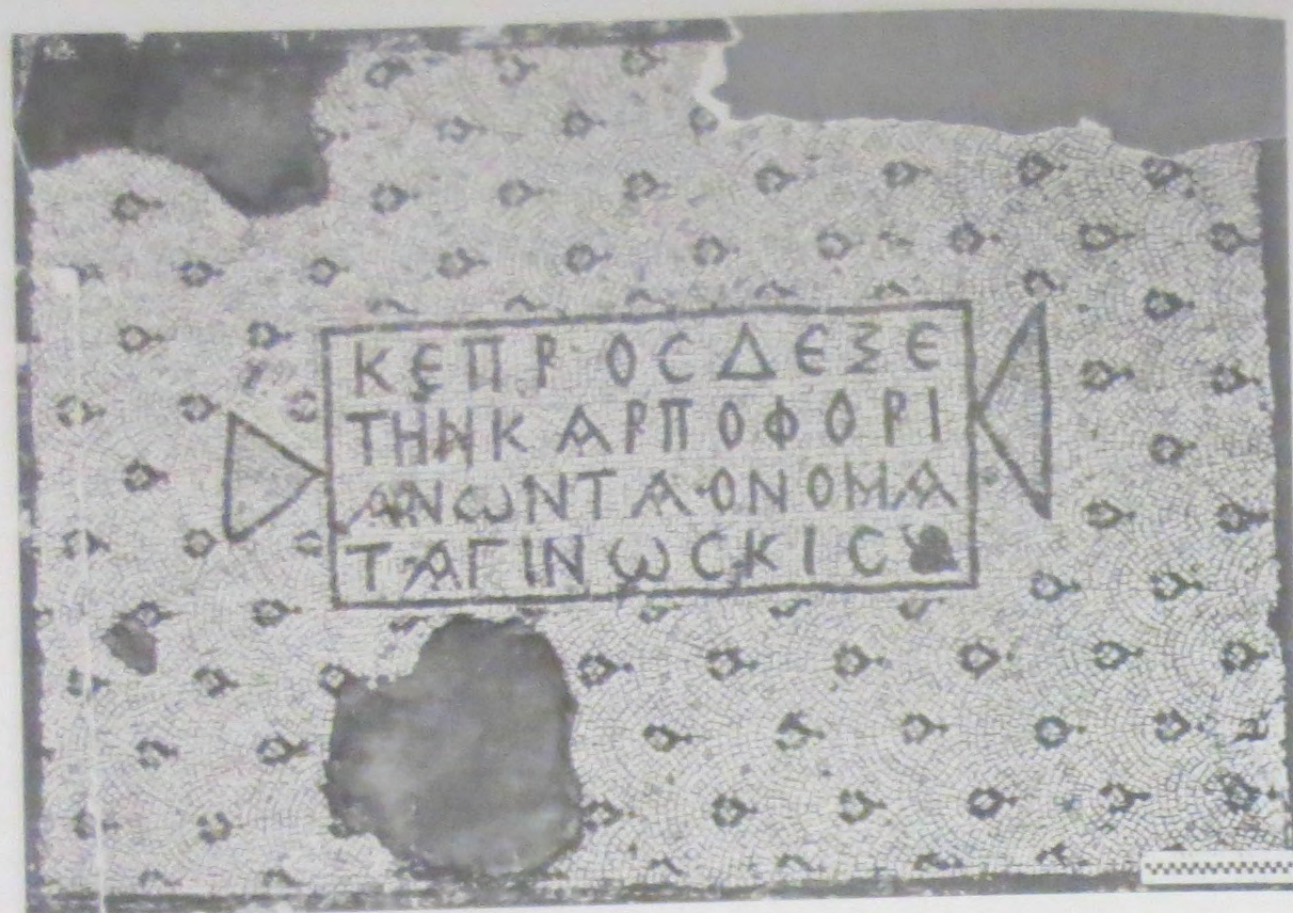


Fig. 78. Church at Machouka. Mosaic inscription from the north aisle



Fig. 79. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Photograph taken from the upper city, after completion of the excavations.

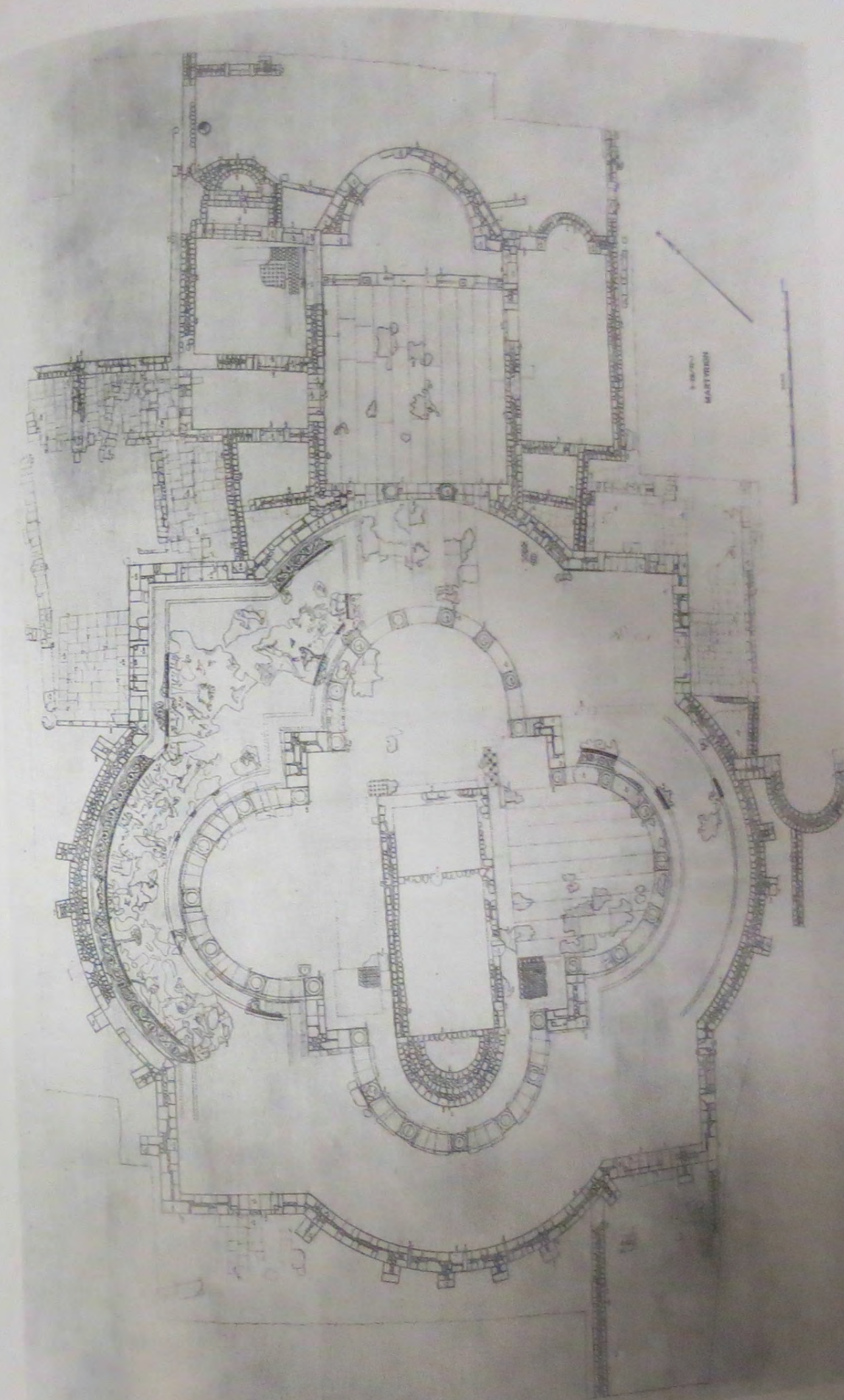
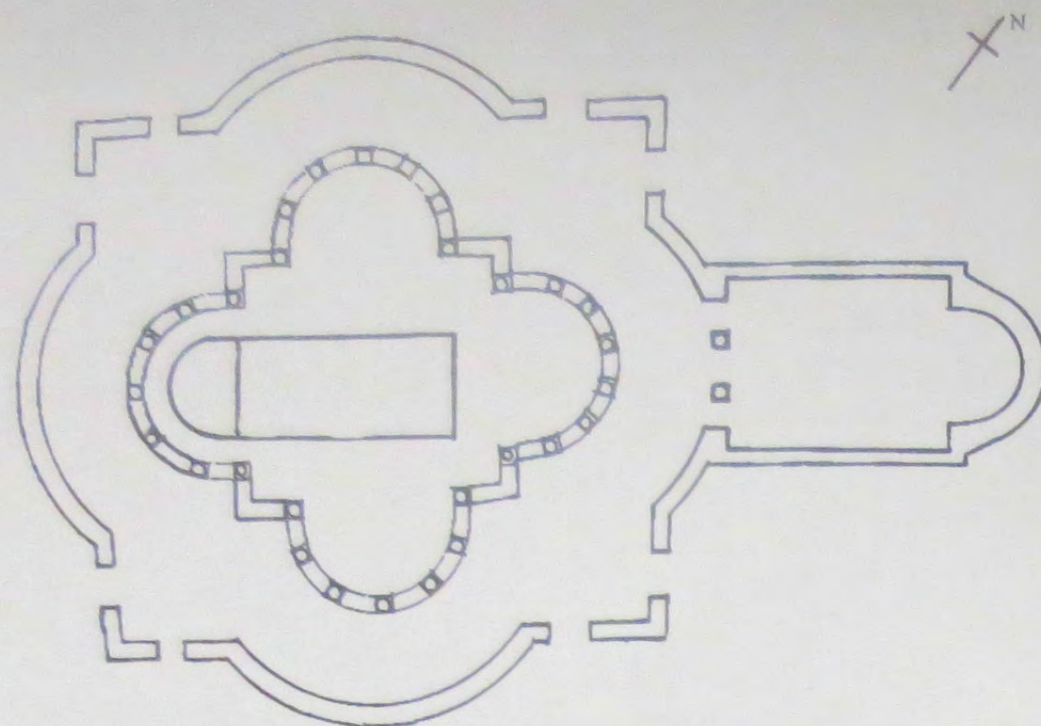
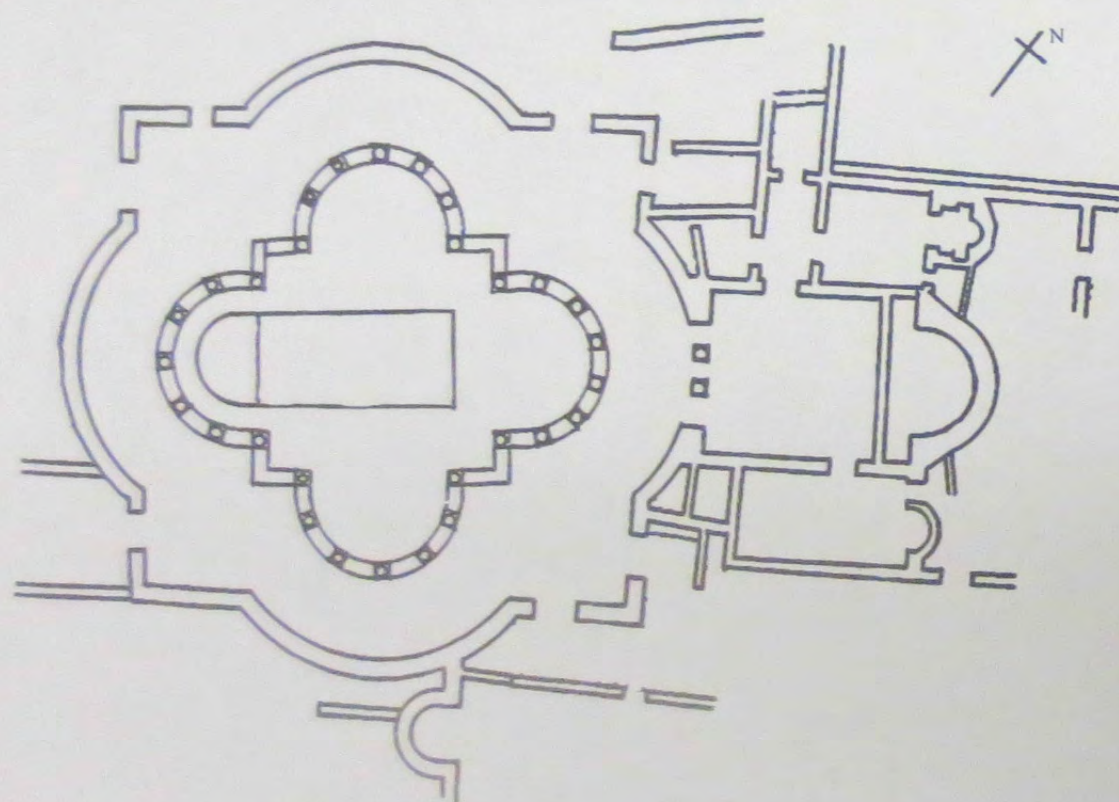


Fig. 80. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Field plan of entire building



Church at Seleucia Pieria, phase 1



Church at Seleucia Pieria, phases 2-3

Fig. 81. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Phases



Fig. 82. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of the building, showing L-shaped piers and limestone paving



Fig. 83. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of east exedra colonnade



Fig. 84. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Southwest angle of the central quatrefoil



Fig. 85. Church in Seleucia Pieria. SE portal threshold

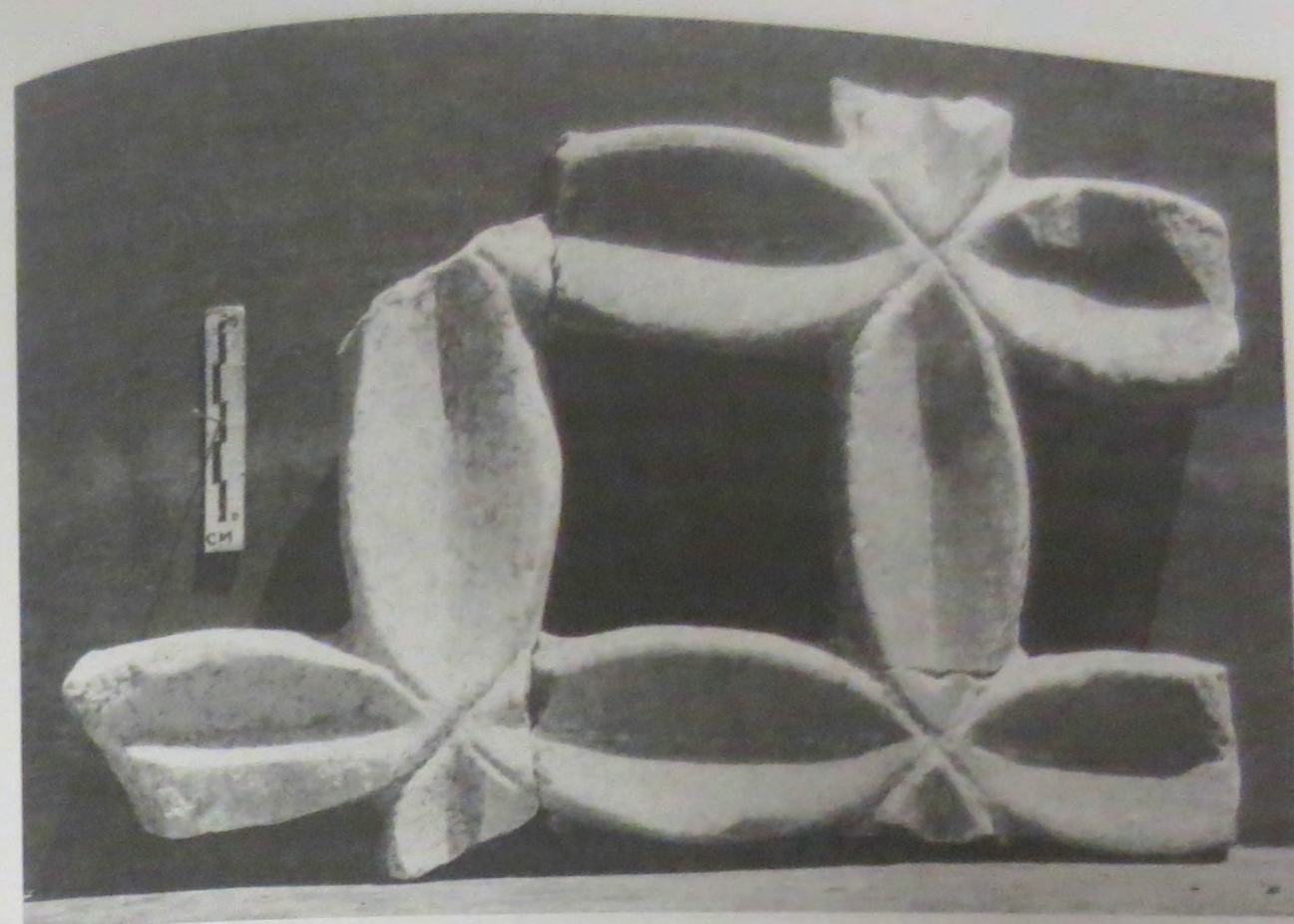


Fig. 86. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Carved marble window grill



Fig. 87. Church in Seleucia Pieria. NE corner of north apse showing change in construction from limestone to rubble concrete



Fig. 88. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view along the south side of the building, from the SE corner



Fig. 89. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view from outside eastern apse



Fig. 90. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of eastern apse and its dependencies, from north property wall



Fig. 91. Church in Seleucia Pieria. General view of baptistery and its dependencies, from east ambulatory

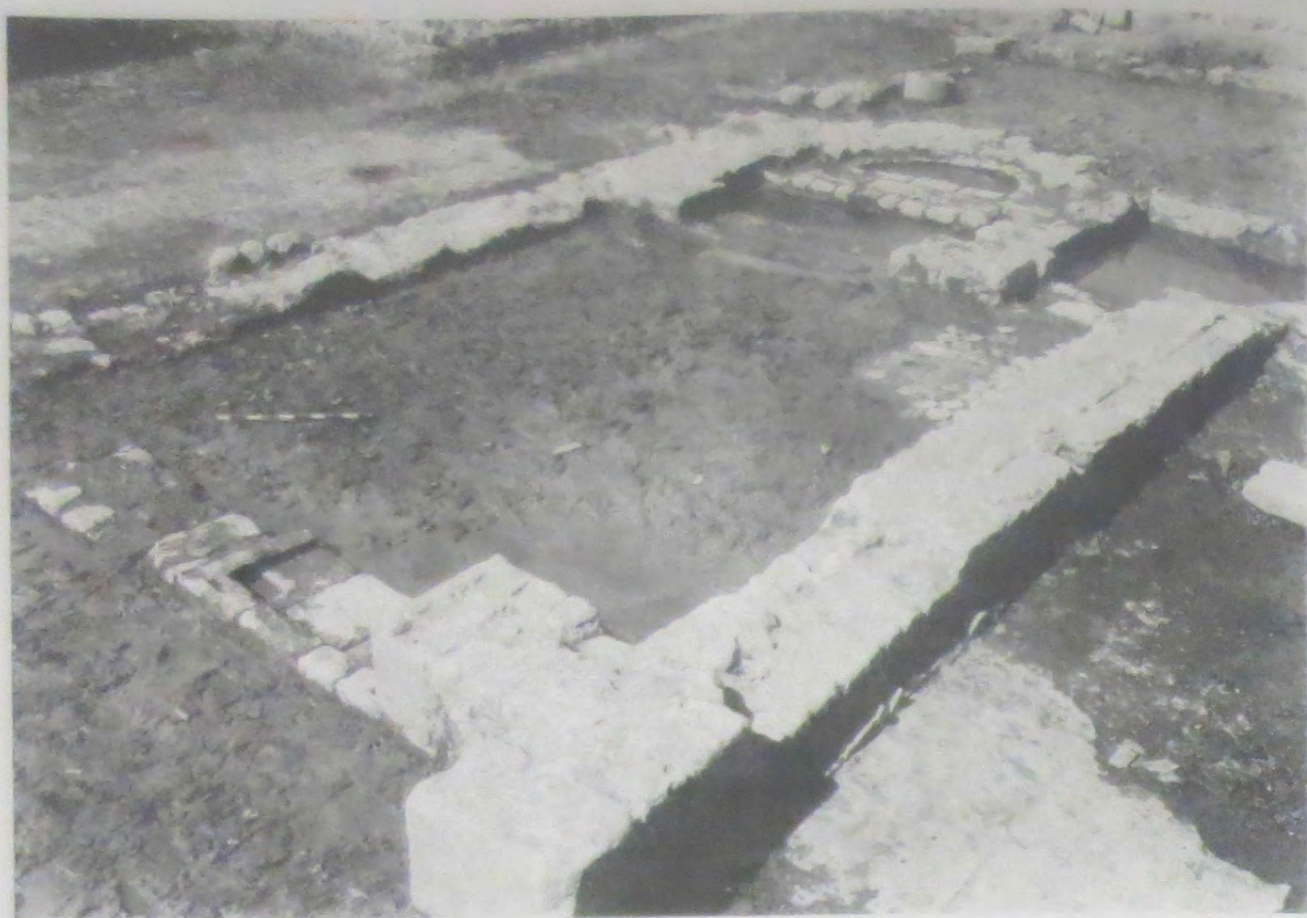


Fig. 92. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Detail of the baptistery



Fig. 93. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Apse and south wall of chancel



Fig. 94. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Opus sectile on south side of west apse. South side of choir at right.



Fig. 95. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Apse of structure placed in the central quatrefoil



Fig. 96. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Capital of a large Corinthian colonnette.
Corinthian capital



Fig. 97. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Windblown Corinthian capital



Fig. 98. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Pilaster capital with relief of amphora and acanthus leaves



Fig. 99. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Two fragments of inscriptions



Fig. 100. Church in Seleucia Pieria. SE corner with remains of mosaic along
exedra colonnade and marble border fragments



Fig. 101. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Complete marble frieze block, inner face



Fig. 102. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with symmetrical pattern



Fig. 103. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Frieze block with peacock



Fig. 104. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with horse



Fig. 105. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Uncatalogued relief fragments



Fig. 106. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief of the Apostle Peter (Peter?)



Fig. 107. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with horse & rider and Greek inscription



Fig. 108. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with swimming boys



Fig. 109. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with figure driving an ass



Fig. 110. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Two-sided relief,
obverse showing male figure in Phrygian costume



Fig. 111. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief on pilaster base showing a warrior



Fig. 112. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief fragment with body of an animal.
Relief with figure and animal in architectural setting



Fig. 113. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with seashells



Fig. 114. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with dolphin



Fig. 115. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with figure with nimbus



Fig. 116. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Fragment of carved marble relief with head of Christ



Fig. 117. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief with head of Christ



Fig. 118. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Relief fragment with head of angel



Fig. 120. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with amphora cornucopia and cross

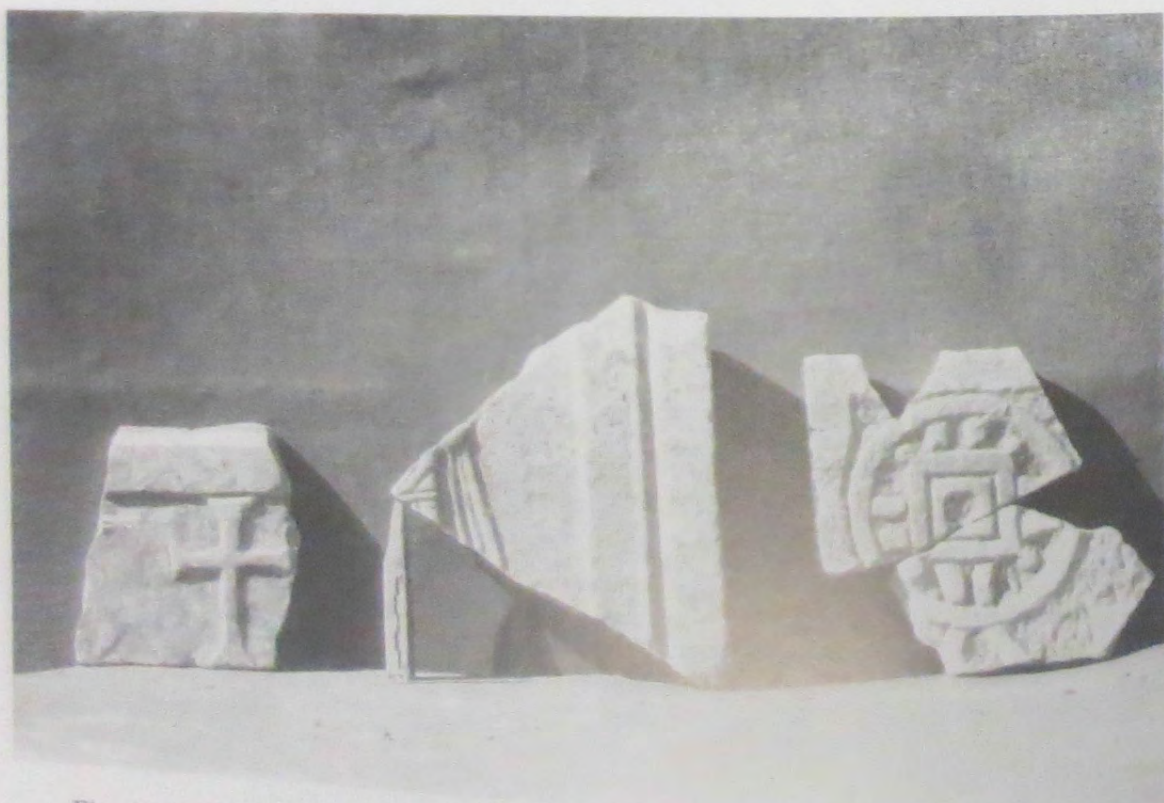


Fig. 119. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Fragment of relief with cross.
Reliefs with figure and geometric ornaments

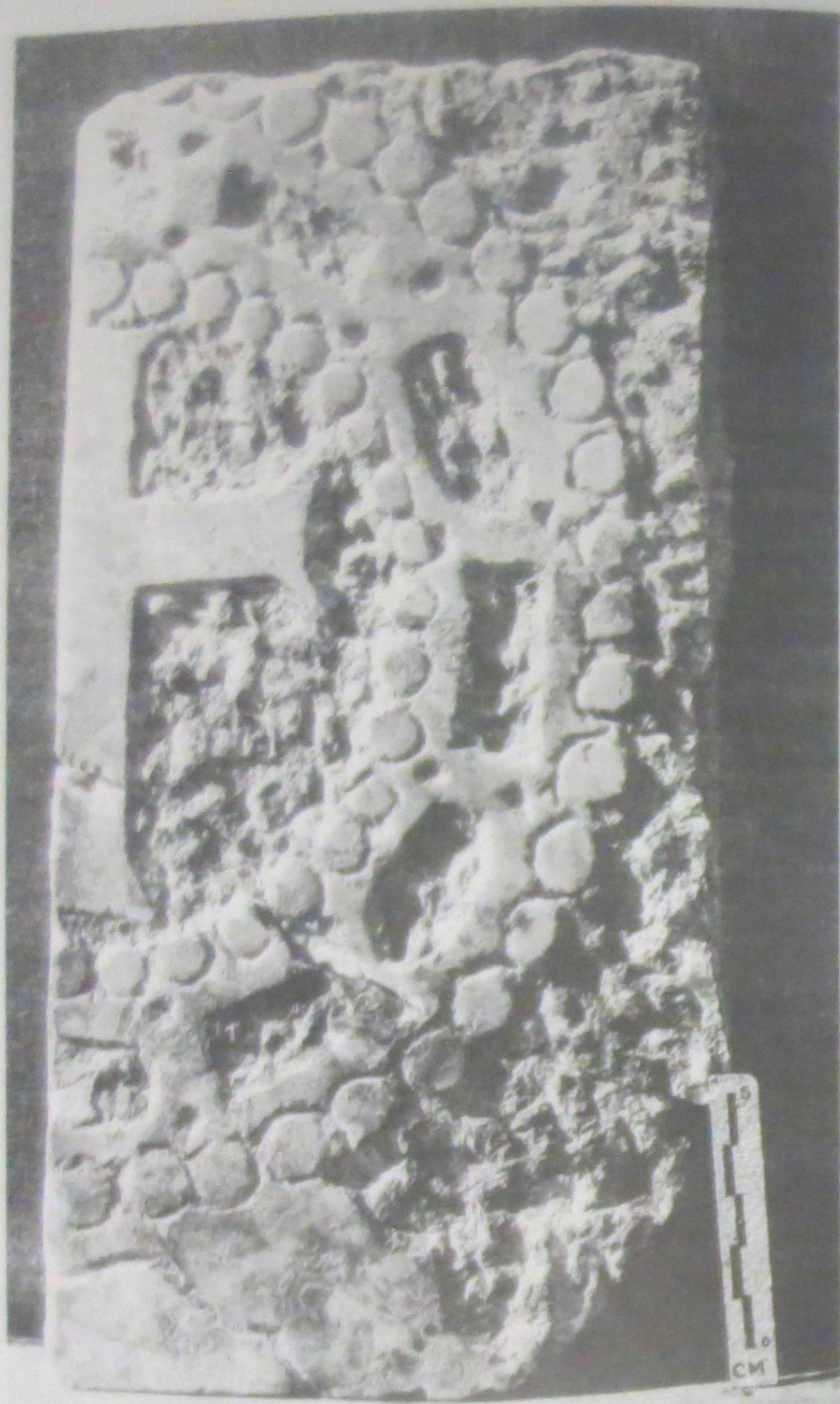


Fig. 121. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with cross in circle



Fig. 122. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Marble revetment with cross, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 123. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Frieze block fragments, outer face



Fig. 124. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
Relief with geometric ornament



Fig. 125. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Uncatalogued relief fragments



Fig. 126. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Uncatalogued relief fragments



Fig. 127. Church in Seleucia Pieria.
General view across north ambulatory showing mosaic floor



Fig. 128. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Detail of mosaic floor in ambulatory



Fig. 129. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Detail of mosaic floor in ambulatory



Fig. 130. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Detail of mosaic floor in ambulatory



Fig. 131. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Mosaic panel "N" from ambulatory



Fig. 132. Church in Seleucia Pieria. Detail of mosaic panel in ambulatory, now much weathered, courtyard of Seleucia Pieria, Antakya



Fig. 133. Silver dove, Attarouthi treasure, Syria, sixth century.
© 2008. Image copyright The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource/
Scala, Florence. Purchase, Rogers Fund, and Henry J. and Drue E. Heinz
Foundation, Norbert Schimmel and Lila Acheson Wallace Gifts, 1986.



Fig. 134a-b. Panel of topographical border. Mosaic of Megalopsychia



Fig. 135. Tyche of Antioch, Galleria dei candelabri, Vatican Museum



Fig. 136. Gold coin, Justin I, showing winged victory, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 137. Gold coin, Justin I, showing archangel, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 138. Copper coin, Justinian I, Dumbarton Oaks Collection



Fig. 139. Reliquary lid, Syria, Dumbarton Oaks Collection

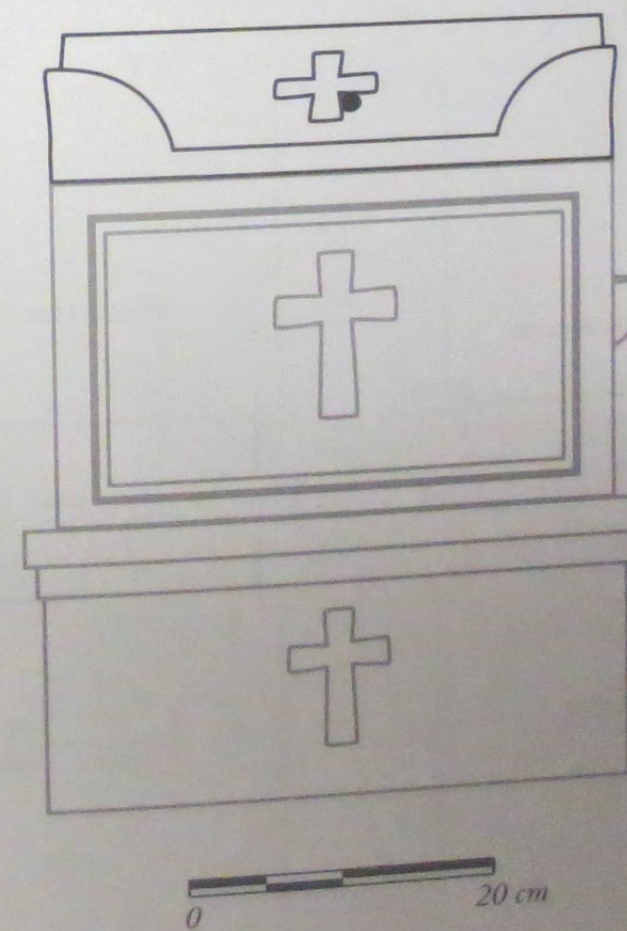


Fig. 140. Reconstruction of reliquary, based on a fifth-century example excavated at Hūarte, Syria

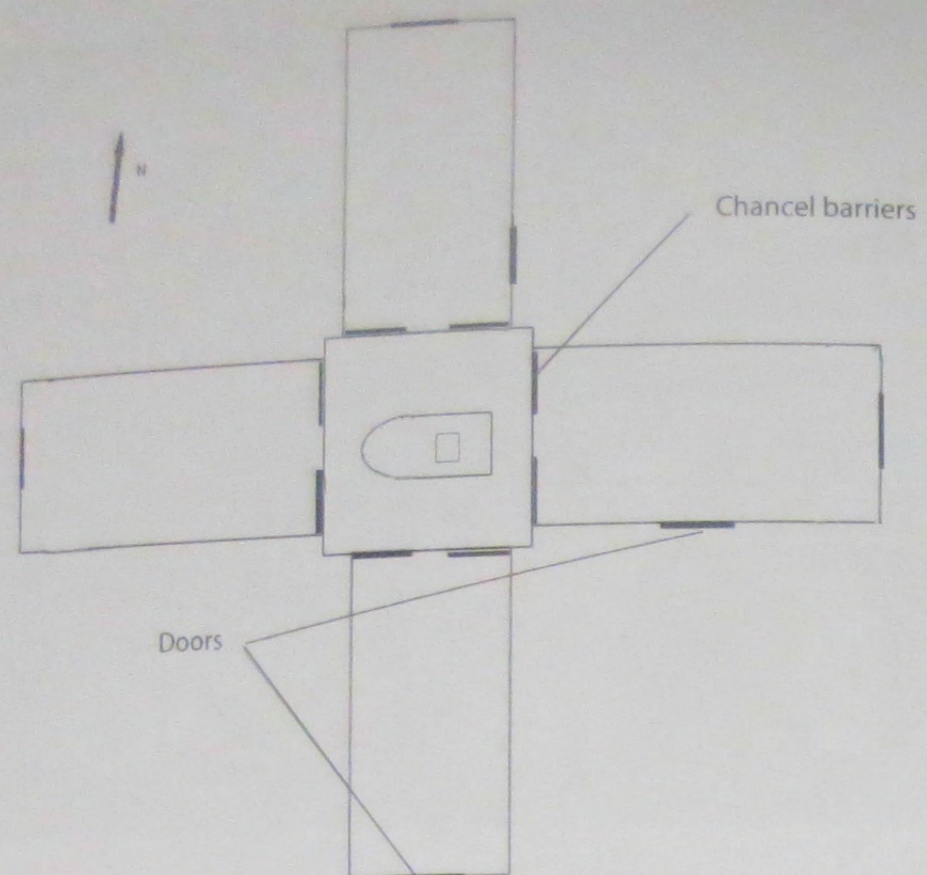


Fig. 141. Reconstruction of liturgical organization of Church of St Babylas by Tchalenko and Baccache

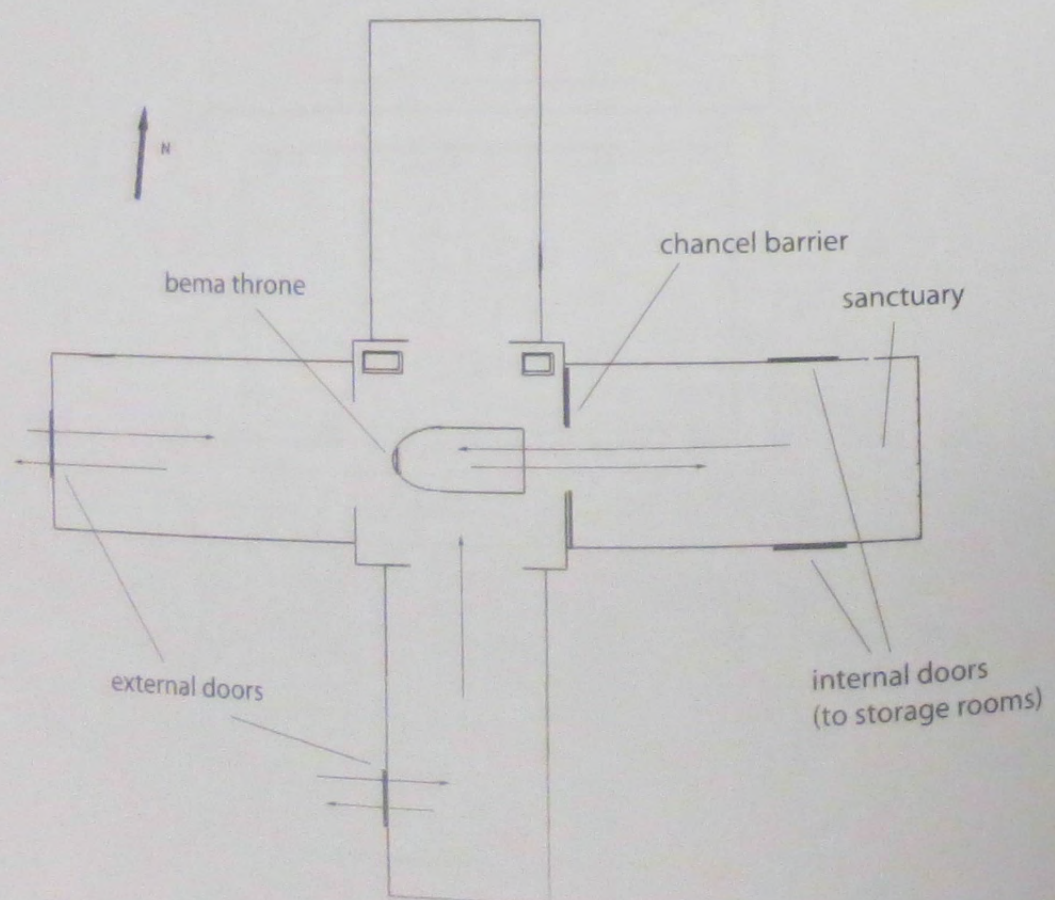


Fig. 142. Reconstruction of liturgical organization of Church of St Babylas by Mayer